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”THEY’VE GOT THE BOMB, WE’VE GOT THE RECORDS!”

Roles of Music in the Making of Social Movements: The Case of the British Nuclear Disarmament
Movement, 1958–1963

ABSTRACT

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VÄHÄSALO MINNA: "They've Got the Bomb, We've Got the Records!" Roles of Music in the Making of Social Movements: The Case of the British Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1958–1963

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This thesis explores the roles music can play in the making of social movements. The theme is studied through the case of the British nuclear disarmament movement, 1958–1963. The focus is mainly on London and the national level, but the discussion is contrasted with examples from protests in the Glasgow region. By analysing participant perceptions on music, the study answers two main research questions. Firstly, how was music seen to influence the movement, and why? Secondly, how did contemporary musical and political phenomena shape the uses and perceptions of music in protest. The topic is discussed in the context of Cold War cultures in Britain in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This thesis provides an example of how local actors interpreted the Cold War, and responded to it using the cultural and social resources available for them. It also demonstrates how the Cold War influenced the political opportunities and internal dynamics of the movement.

The British nuclear disarmament movement was a mostly non-aligned collection of groups, campaigns, individuals and protests which aimed at unilateral nuclear disarmament by the United Kingdom. In Scotland, the direct goal was the removal of American nuclear weapons from Holy Loch, close to Glasgow in Western Scotland. The movement was politically and religiously heterogeneous, and its groups differed considerably in their choice of methods of protest. In 1958–1963 the movement was at its peak, attracting thousands of people to its protest events.

This study combines an analysis of archival materials and published sources with oral history. The archival sources, collected from the London School of Economics Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Collection and the Glasgow University Janey Buchan Political Song Collection, consist of documents pertaining to the planning, discussion and reporting of movement activities, correspondence, participant accounts and songbooks and sheets as well as numbers of the *Sing* magazine. The published sources include books, contemporary records and one short documentary film. The books are accounts of nuclear disarmament activism written from different perspectives, published 1964–1983. The oral history sources consist of four unstructured interviews conducted in Glasgow and in London in February 2015 with six people who participated in the nuclear disarmament movement and two who offered comparative and theoretical insights. The main method of data retrieval and analysis of this study is content analysis.

This thesis argues that music had strong influence on the British nuclear disarmament movement. The functions were mainly sustaining, although music could also reinforce fragmenting processes within the movement. As the worlds of music and activism were connected, new participants joined the movement. Many of them came from political music organisations, often affiliated with the Communist Party. In the movement, however, members of such groups were constantly negotiating their political identifications, and participation in a non-aligned movement also offered opportunities to challenge and transcend Cold War dichotomies and work for peace and disarmament independent from the Soviet-led peace movement.

The participation of musicians led to a development of a musical infrastructure within the British nuclear disarmament movement. This guided the ways in which musicians participated, musicking occurred and music was used and transmitted in the movement. In particular, musicians helped in protest events and social gatherings and in mobilising resources for the organisations. Music also affected debates within the movement as organisers discussed the appropriate place, time and content of music.

Discussions and disagreements over music reflected the political, social and cultural complexity of the movement as well as the challenges which peace movements faced in Cold War Britain.

Music had considerable influence on the mood, rituals and image of the movement. It motivated activists in protest events and created and strengthened a sense of solidarity between them. This study also shows that individual activists and groups used music to negotiate disagreements and express dissent in the movement. Moreover, the thesis exemplifies how closely interconnected the cultural and the political were in the movement. Activists and musicians recognised this, and they used music to express, perform and reaffirm their political identities.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWRE	Atomic Weapons Research Establishment
BPC	British Peace Committee
C100	Committee of 100
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPBG (CP)	Communist Party of Great Britain (Communist Party)
DAC	Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War
FOR	Fellowship of Reconciliation
LREC	London Region Executive Council
LSE	London School of Economics
LYC	London Youth Choir
NCANWT	National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests
ND	Nuclear Disarmament
NDM	Nuclear Disarmament Movement
NEC	National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party
PPU	Peace Pledge Union
PSC	Political Song Collection
SNP	Scottish Nationalist Party
TU	Trade Union
UG	Glasgow University
UNA	United Nations Association
USAF	United States Air Force
USSF	United States Submarine Force
WMA	Workers' Music Association
WPC	World Peace Council
YCND	Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

INTRODUCTION

*It was a crazy mix up of jazz and folk and farce, and colour, and speeches about the Bomb – hard and soft politics, but which was the hard and which the soft I am still not sure.*¹

Peggy Duff, 1971

On Monday, 13 November 1961, supporters of nuclear disarmament gathered in Albert Hall in London. The event that took place in the Hall was half a political rally, half a festival, reflecting the character of the nuclear disarmament movement.² What had begun in the 1950s as two groups of activists – one pressuring the Labour Party to adopt a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, another blocking military and research facilities to stop the production and testing of nuclear weapons – had grown into a mass movement. It was as noisy as it was colourful, with a beat of jazz and a soundtrack of folk. Accounts from participants in the movement repeatedly refer to songs sung during protest events; histories of jazz and folk in the period describe the interconnectedness of the worlds of music and activism. In this study, I will explore these connections. Why were music and musicians involved in the nuclear disarmament movement and what did they contribute to it?

Studying the British nuclear disarmament movement and its cultures is timely in 2016. On the 27th of February, tens of thousands of people gathered in London to oppose the renewal of the British nuclear submarine system, the Trident. Estimates of the number of participants vary, but the United Kingdom had not seen such a large anti-nuclear demonstration since the 1980s. This was an attempt to influence the parliament which was to vote on the issue later in the spring. Eventually the parliament voted for the renewal, but the campaign continues.³ Meanwhile, global campaigns for nuclear disarmament, particularly in the United Nations, are gaining momentum.⁴ Nuclear weapons have therefore been actively debated in Britain and elsewhere. Some of the issues would have been highly relatable to the earlier anti-nuclear protesters. For example, a key question in Britain is the relation of nuclear disarmament to Scottish

¹ Peggy Duff, *Left, Left, Left. A Personal Account of Six Protest Campaigns, 1945–65* (London: Allison & Busby, 1971), 210.

² Ibid.

³ “Jeremy Corbyn and Nicola Sturgeon condemn Trident at rally,” *BBC News*, 27 February, 2016; Mark Townsend, “Trident rally is Britain’s biggest anti-nuclear march in a generation,” *The Guardian*, 27 February, 2016; “Thousands join biggest anti-Trident demonstration of its kind for a generation,” *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 February, 2016; Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, *Campaign*, March 2016; Dave Webb, chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, e-mail correspondence with the author, 23 March 2016; “MPs vote for Trident – but it’s far from over,” *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, July 2016, available from <http://www.cnduk.org/component/k2/item/2510-mps-vote-for-trident-but-its-far-from-over> (accessed 1 September 2016).

⁴ See e.g. “Majority of UN members declare intention to negotiate ban on nuclear weapons in 2017,” *International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons*, 19 August, 2016, available from <http://www.icanw.org/campaign-news/majority-of-un-members-declare-intention-to-negotiate-ban-on-nuclear-weapons-in-2017> (accessed 1 September 2016); “UN calls for ‘breakthrough’ in bringing nuclear test ban treaty into force,” *UN News Centre*, 31 August, 2016, available from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54805> (accessed 1 September 2016).

nationalism. The Trident are placed in Scotland, and the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) has stated that the nuclear weapons would be removed should Scotland become independent. The June 2016 Brexit vote has invigorated the independence campaign, making the question even more pertinent.⁵

While the British nuclear disarmament movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s has been studied widely, relatively little attention has been given to the cultures within it and to the ways in which these cultures influenced the movement's development, character and success. An interesting aspect about social movements is that their popularity is tied not only to the public's interest in the topic, but also to their choices of methods and the ways in which they manage to tap into contemporary cultural trends. In other words, cultural production within movements may make them more or less relevant for their time.⁶ This was certainly true about British nuclear disarmament movement which managed to capture the imagination of thousands of people and become a mass movement. Especially young people often later remembered their involvement as an almost generational experience.

Historical Background

Peace Movements and the Cold War

The history of peace movements in Britain began with religious societies and liberal middle class organisations in the 18th and 19th centuries. They worked to discourage British participation in war, to advocate arbitration and internationalism as ways to international peace and to abolish slave trade. The number and variety of peace organisations grew throughout the 19th century, and interest in peace politics was stirred by international conflicts and wars, for example the Crimean War.⁷ In the interwar period 1919–1945 there were two major waves of mobilisation for peace in Britain: immediately after the World War One and in reaction to the rising international tensions in the 1930s. Unlike the interwar period, the years immediately following the World War Two saw little growth in peace movements. In fact, peace politics were to some extent seen at fault for the unsuccessful appeasement policies in the 1930s. Many pre-war organisations such as the Peace Pledge Union (PPU) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) continued their work in the new era, but none of them could gather mass support. On the other hand, new groups such as the United Nations Association (UNA) and the British Peace Committee (BPC) were

⁵ See e.g. Alexandra Abell, "Scotland After Brexit," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 9, 2016, available from <http://www.cfr.org/united-kingdom/scotland-after-brexit/p38202> (accessed 1 September 2016); Hugh Gusterson, "Nuclear Brexit," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 30 June, 2016, available from <http://thebulletin.org/nuclear-brexit9620> (accessed 1 September 2016).

⁶ Rhys H. Williams, "The Cultural Contexts of Collective Action: Constraints, Opportunities and the Symbolic Life of Social Movements," in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 105–106.

⁷ David Cortright, *Peace. A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25–43.

founded. The latter was affiliated with the World Peace Council (WPC) movement, supported by the Soviet Union, and it grew moderately in the years immediately after the war.⁸

Apart from the association with appeasement, the Cold War complicated the work of peace movements. The Soviet Union claimed to be working for 'peace'. The Western bloc's alternative to the word was 'freedom'. This polarising language made 'peace' a suspicious word in Britain. Although the government concentrated on monitoring and, in some cases, obstructing the work of organisations affiliated with the WPC, even groups with no communist association faced suspicion. The public often made no difference between the different peace movements.⁹ While there was no equivalent to the McCarthyism of the United States in Britain, links to communism, anarchism or other ideologies seen subversive could create problems. In the early Cold War, anti-communist sentiment was particularly strong in the Labour Party and in trade unions which wanted to avoid being seen as "fellow travellers" to Soviet Union.¹⁰

Another Cold War challenge was the tight control of information related to national security and military affairs. The militarisation of society had not yet completely ceased after the World War when the Cold War began to be felt in the British society. As during the World War, the British media were largely obeying the government's D-notices, instructing the press not to publish information that in the government's view might compromise national security. This included for example the progress of the British nuclear programme and detailed information about the effects of nuclear weapons. Although the government loosened its control in the 1950s and the 1960s and although the cooperation of the media began to waver, raising awareness through media and challenging the official truths remained a challenge.¹¹ This helps to understand why the participation of well-known cultural figures with better access to media and the organisation of spectacular protest events became so important in the nuclear disarmament movement.

Cold War also created opportunities for peace movements. Pacifist and disarmament organisations could become channels for criticism against the bipolar system and rivalries. The violence of conflicts such as the Suez and the Hungarian crises (1956) shocked many, and the atom and hydrogen bombs

⁸ Nigel Young, "Tradition and innovation in the British Peace Movement: towards an analytical framework," in Richard Taylor and Nigel Young (eds.), *Campaigns for Peace, Campaigns for Peace. British Peace Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 10–13.

⁹ John Jenks, *British Propaganda and News Media in the Cold War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 114–127; John Jenks, "Fight Against Peace? Britain and the Partisans of Peace, 1948–1951," in Michael F. Hopkins, Michael Kandiah and Gillian Staerck (eds.), *Cold War Britain, 1945–1964. New Perspectives* (Gordonville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 56, 66; Lawrence S. Wittner, *Struggle against the Bomb. Vol. 2, Resisting the Bomb. A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 113–124.

¹⁰ John Charlton, *Don't you hear the H-Bomb's thunder? Youth & politics on Tyneside in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties* (Pontypool: North East Labour History, 2009), 13; Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good. A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2006), 230–231.

¹¹ Jenks, *British Propaganda*, 26; Tony Shaw, "The BBC, the State and Cold War Culture: The Case of Television's The War Game (1965)," *The English Historical Review* 121, No. 494 (December 2006): 1353–1357.

came to symbolise the destructive power made possible by great power politics and technological developments. After the events in Hungary many left-wing groups explicitly distanced themselves from Soviet policies. This created more space for criticising British defence policies without being labelled pro-Soviet, and the large demonstrations against the Suez Crisis proved that anti-war traditions had not perished during the World War.¹² Peace movements could now act as a breeding ground for a new type of politics outside existing political parties which were committed to maintaining the British role in the Cold War. In Scotland, the presence of the United States military bases, approved by the government in London, contributed to the rising republican and nationalist sentiment. This led to a coalition with participation from peace activists, republicans and socialists.¹³

Nuclear Disarmament Activists from Hiroshima to Holy Loch

After the World War Two, a new movement began to emerge around the issue of nuclear weapons. The first protests against nuclear weapons surfaced in Britain immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The PPU published an anti-nuclear pamphlet in the autumn of 1945. Later on, in 1949, the Union organised a conference called Steps to Peace as a response to the quickly escalating Cold War. One of its commissions focused on the use of nonviolence, and an outcome of this commission was the creation of Operation Gandhi. The policies of the group ranged from opposition to NATO to calls for ending the production and testing of nuclear weapons, and the main method of campaigning was Gandhian non-violent direct action.¹⁴

Nevertheless, nuclear disarmament remained a marginal cause until 1950s. Throughout the decade, concern over nuclear weapons increased. This was connected to the worsening of Cold War tensions, the development of the hydrogen bomb as well as the increasing number of nuclear weapons tests. The consequences of these tests were increasingly debated in public. The policies of the British governments were also crucial for the growth of the nuclear disarmament movement. The post-war governments were committed to developing British nuclear deterrence, including a hydrogen bomb.¹⁵

Eventually, new organisations such as the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests (NCANWT, founded in 1956) were born. Operation Gandhi was also transformed into the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War (DAC) in 1957. The year 1958 became a watershed in the history

¹² Holger Nehring, "The British and West German Protests against Nuclear Weapons and the Cultures of the Cold War, 1957–64," *Contemporary British History* 19, No. 2 (June 2005), 227.

¹³ Brian P. Jamison, "Introduction. What Was Scotland's Cold War Experience?" in Brian P. Jamison (ed.), *Scotland and the Cold War* (Dunfermline: Cualann Press, 2003), 13.

¹⁴ Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 63–64; Richard Taylor, *Against the Bomb. The British Peace Movement 1958–1965* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 116.

¹⁵ Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 14–17; Taylor, *Against the Bomb*, 19–20; Jonathan Hogg, "'The family that feared tomorrow': British nuclear culture and individual experience in the late 1950s," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45, No. 4, (2012): 541.

of the British nuclear disarmament movement because of two events. On 17 February 5,000 people gathered in Central Hall (and three overflow halls) in London to found the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Meanwhile, the DAC was planning a march from London to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment (AWRE) in Aldermaston.¹⁶

The Direct Action Committee specialised in direct action in nuclear research facilities and military bases. Its methods ranged from more conventional protests such as marches and vigils to campaigns including civil disobedience. The DAC was also globally oriented, and participated for instance in an attempt to obstruct the French nuclear test in Sahara in 1960. The DAC was dissolved in 1961, after the founding of another radical organisation, the Committee of 100 (C100), which overlapped with the DAC both in membership and in ideology.¹⁷

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was the largest organisation in the British nuclear disarmament movement. The CND was the successor of the NCANWT and inherited the preference for conventional demonstrations and a goal to influence politicians, particularly in the Labour Party. The Campaign took over the organisation of the Aldermaston march from the DAC in 1959 and turned the direction from Aldermaston to London. This symbolised their differing approaches. While the DAC aimed at obstructing the work the nuclear bases and research facilities, the CND tried to persuade politicians. Protest events by both were highly symbolic and a key goal in all demonstrations and civil disobedience was to influence public opinion.¹⁸

Until the end of the 1950s, nuclear disarmament activism focused on Aldermaston where the British nuclear weapons were developed, on London where the decision makers worked and on a number of other strategic locations around the country. In 1960 the United States was granted a permission to use Holy Loch in Western Scotland, near the town of Dunoon, as a submarine base for its nuclear Polaris system. This turned Scotland into a potential military target for a Soviet attack and sparked demonstrations throughout the UK. Glasgow became the centre of the anti-Polaris activism, and the arrival of the US fleet in 1961 escalated the protests further.¹⁹

Another nuclear disarmament organisation was born in 1960 when the Committee of 100 was founded. Its method of choice was mass civil disobedience outside ministries, embassies and military and research facilities. Often the purpose was to try and stop the functioning of the target. This could mean blocking the entrance to a facility or trying to break in and prevent for example military planes carrying nuclear weapons from taking off in case of an emergency. All actions were to be carried out non-violently.

¹⁶ Taylor, *Against the Bomb*, 26–29.

¹⁷ Ibid., 177–189.

¹⁸ April Carter, *Peace Movements. International Protest and World Politics since 1945* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), 48–50, 53.

¹⁹ Brian P. Jamison, “Will They Blow Us A’ Tae Hell? Strategies and Obstacles for the Disarmament Movement in Scotland,” in Brian P. Jamison (ed.), *Scotland and the Cold War* (Dunfermline: Cualann Press, 2003), 114–117.

The Committee hoped for mass arrests which would obstruct the work of the legal system and force the state to adopt extraordinary measures for dealing with the activists. More conventional methods such as marches and vigils were also employed. The Committee was disbanded in 1968.²⁰

Throughout the years, the message of the nuclear disarmament movement was broadened: in addition to calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, the activists condemned the US nuclear presence in the country. Increasingly, there were also voices against military alliances and the British membership in NATO. Moreover, the majority of the movement was what Lawrence Wittner has categorised non-aligned: they associated themselves neither with the Western nor the Eastern bloc of the Cold War and criticised the development and testing of all nuclear weapons.²¹

The participants in the nuclear disarmament movement self-identified mainly as middle class, and professions such as teachers were overrepresented among them. Religious groups also played a major role, and for example Quakers were highly active. Politically, nuclear disarmament was a leftist cause, and major events such as the Aldermaston marches could have representation from the Labour Party, labour unions, the Communist Party, from the New Left as well as anarchists and smaller groups. The makeup was somewhat different in Scotland, where the trade unions may have been more involved and the movement also included republican and nationalist activists. The movement in Britain was remarkably young: students and teenagers formed some of the largest groups in the CND and the C100. The oldest age groups were also overrepresented while there were relatively few middle-aged protesters.²²

Research Objectives

This study analyses perceptions of music in the British nuclear disarmament movement, 1958–1963. It answers two main research questions. **Firstly, how was music seen to influence the movement, and why?** Since music was so widely used, it is relevant to ask why this was. When, where, how and why was music thought to be beneficial (or detrimental) for the movement? On the grassroots level, how was music seen to motivate (or discourage) activists, and why? Moreover, how organised was the use of music: to what extent, how and why was music and musicking controlled? Finally, the first question also touches upon the variety of interests within the movement. How did organisations, sub-groups and regions differ in their approaches to music?

Secondly, I am interested in **how contemporary musical and political phenomena shaped the uses and perceptions of music in protest.** As the movement worked not in a vacuum but in a complex

²⁰ Carter, *Peace Movements*, 50–51; Taylor, *Against the Bomb*, 190, 272.

²¹ Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 183; Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 83–85.

²² Frank Parkin, *Middle Class Radicalism. The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (New York: Praeger, 1968); Richard Taylor and Colin Pritchard, *The Protest Makers. The British Nuclear Disarmament Movement of 1958–1965. Twenty Years On* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980);

environment affected by different cultural, social and political trends, it is important to discuss the influence of the historical context on the music. On the one hand, which forms of music and musicking became common in the movement, and why? On the other hand, which conditions were perceived to enable and restrict the choices in music?

The emphasis of the first question is on the views and recollections of participants: organisers and grassroots activists. Epistemologically, the approach is constructivist. The existence of any sustaining functions of music is perceived to depend on the experiences and the narration of them by the participants. This is also related to the interlinked processes of image work and identity building in the movement. The thesis takes into account different levels of movement cultures and organisations: global (movement), top (organisations), intermediate (intraorganisational sub-groups) and grassroots (individual activists). The “global” level only existed as far as groups and individual activists felt they belonged to such an overarching movement. Moreover, decision-making and forming of official opinions in the organisations was done by individuals with different, even conflicting views. Therefore, the analysis discusses perceptions by organisers and activists.

The second set of questions provides the ground for discussing the contextual factors influencing the uses and the perceptions of music in the nuclear disarmament movement. The genres (mainly folk and traditional jazz) and the forms of musicking (singing, jazz bands, dancing) that became common in the movement were not the most suitable in any obvious manner, but neither was the connection coincidental. The participants, musicians in particular, provided explanations for why the combination of musics and practices was adopted. Combined with knowledge from existing research these narratives offer a fruitful opportunity to explore the dynamic interaction of arts, politics, social developments and Cold War cultures.

My topic concerns the most active period of the so called first wave of nuclear disarmament activism, from 1958 until 1963. The period began with the establishment of the biggest of the organisations, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The first wave came to an end after the first years of the 1960s. The Cuban missile crisis in 1962 had demonstrated, in the opinion of many, both the futility of protests by British activists and the will of American and Soviet leaders to avoid nuclear war. Moreover, the signing of the Partial Test-Ban Treaty in 1963 reduced some of the biggest fears related to nuclear testing. Finally, activists were increasingly beginning to shift their attention from nuclear disarmament to other issues.

I have chosen the case of the British nuclear disarmament movement for several reasons. Protests against nuclear weapons grew into a mass movement in the late 1950s, partially as a result of impressive public demonstrations. Taking place right before the so called high sixties, the movement provided inspiration – if not always a model – for contemporary and subsequent social movements in Britain and

elsewhere. Singing, bands and musical events were common elements of the protests, which is why music is an ideal focus for exploring the dynamics around the movement's cultures. Researching a Cold War era movement from Western Europe allows me to discuss how Cold War cultures and movement cultures interacted to create, together with other social and cultural conditions, a unique case of music in a social movement. Moreover, as noted in the introduction, nuclear disarmament remains on the political agenda in the United Kingdom and globally.

Rather than focusing on one of the groups working for nuclear disarmament, I have chosen to study the movement. The main reason for this is that although the relations between the organisations were occasionally uneasy, even conflictual, the reality on the grassroots level was not always as clearcut. Different nuclear disarmament groups would often cooperate and there was also considerable overlap between the membership and participants of organisations such as the CND, the Committee of 100 and the Direct Action Committee. My sources, moreover, do not always identify which group they are referring to. Another reason has to do with the different profiles of these groups. As the tactics of activism differed between the CND, the C100 and the DAC, including all organisations allows me to discuss the contrasting roles of music in different types of actions: was there a difference for instance between the uses of music on marches and in direct action?

I am using the term 'British' despite – and to some extent because of – the complications with it. First of all, I am focusing on protests in two regions, around London and Glasgow, and to highlight the connections between the two areas, I chose to use an umbrella term rather than discussing 'English and Scottish' movements. Second of all, in England, the rhetoric by the movement intentionally referred to Britain – "Let Britain Lead!" was one of its slogans.²³ Much of the research on the movement and its organisations has been conducted under the heading "British", without much attention to Scotland or the other countries in the United Kingdom. Even protests in England beyond the region of London are little studied. I am using the term 'British' to problematise the image, to bring insights from Glasgow to the London-centric research traditions. It is also interesting to contrast the rhetoric from London to those from Scotland where republican and nationalist groups were prominently involved in the movement. Was it a British movement also for them?

Therefore, my focus is both on the national level and on the regions of London and Glasgow. Many of the important actions were organised on the national level. London region groups, being close to the national level, were highly active and influential and also took responsibility for organising national events. Considering the Glasgow region will offer some variety and provide a contrast to the London-centric view with voices from another region. Glasgow was a centre of nuclear disarmament activism

²³ Holger Nehring, *Politics of Security. British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War, 1945–1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 167.

since the United States Polaris nuclear submarine fleet was installed on the nearby Holy Loch. Glaswegian activists were thus living in the presence of what was perceived to be a likely target for a Soviet attack in case of nuclear war. Furthermore, the role of music in the Scottish nuclear disarmament protests has been emphasised so it is interesting to see how it differs from the London region.

A key concept requiring a definition at this point is ‘music’. There have been countless attempts to incorporate the many aspects and functions of music in a single definition – a goal that is complicated by the varying understandings and experiences of the phenomenon in different contexts.²⁴ As conceptual discussion on the issue is not at the core of my thesis, I will not provide a set definition for ‘music’. Instead, the uses of the term in the sources open up fruitful avenues for analysis. For example, what was music contrasted with? What did interviewees include in their responses when asked about music?

I did, however, develop a practical definition of music for the purposes of analysis. What am I studying when I am studying music in the nuclear disarmament movement? I understand music both as the product and the process of creating and performing music. Furthermore, actions such as listening to music or publishing and distributing it are of relevance to my study. Therefore, the sources have been analysed with a special focus on references to these aspects of music:

- 1) Making music – singing, playing, performing, dancing to, publishing and listening to music;
- 2) The products of making music – songs, printed and recorded music;
- 3) People and groups involved in music-making – musicians and bands;
- 4) Situations and contexts of making music – performances, concerts, dances, music clubs.

Literature Review

Research on the Nuclear Disarmament Movement

The nuclear disarmament movement is well studied. During and immediately after the period under study scholars were interested in understanding the makeup and motivations of the movement. Sociological studies, in particular, emerged.²⁵ Scholarship on the movement increased in the 1980s, in the wake of another wave of mass anti-nuclear mobilisation.²⁶ Until recently research on nuclear disarmament activism has been overwhelmingly London-centric and focused on the questions of origins and impact. The emergence of the movement has been connected to developments in nuclear weapons and arms race and to the changing global role of Britain. While scholars generally agree that the movement failed to achieve its main goals, assessments on its impact on British politics and society are more varied. The

²⁴ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology. Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 16–26.

²⁵ Parkin, *Middle Class Radicalism*; Robin Jenkins, “Who Are These Marchers?” *Journal of Peace Research* 4, No. 1 (1967): 46–60; Christopher Driver, *The Disarmers. A Study in Protest* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964).

²⁶ Taylor–Pritchard, *The Protest Makers; Campaigns for Peace*; Richard Taylor, *Against the Bomb*; James Hinton, *Protests and Visions. Peace Politics in the Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989).

nuclear disarmers have been seen for instance as an indicator of shift in the British political culture and as mobilisers of a new generation. Furthermore, the work of the movement in raising awareness about nuclear weapons and fallout has been emphasised.²⁷

Since the 1990s reassessments of Cold War and changes in the field of social movement research have encouraged scholars to revisit the movement. In addition to general movement histories²⁸, research has addressed cultural and social issues such as gender, morality and cultural influences.²⁹ Some studies have contextualised the movement in terms of cultural Cold War and a few works on the movement in Northern England and in Scotland have addressed the regional imbalance of the historiography.³⁰

For the purposes of this study, research by George McKay, Holger Nehring and Anthony Eames is of particular interest. George McKay's *Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain* (2005)³¹ focuses on the political connections of jazz in Britain. McKay has argued that the innovative political use of music, in particular traditional jazz, had influence beyond the movement. Mass protest eventually shifted from political participation in nuclear disarmament activities to cultural participation in counter-cultures which may have contributed more to the political development in Britain than to peace activism. According to McKay, the reason for this is that a new style and repertoire of protest were created in the nuclear disarmament campaigns. Engaging in the new festive demonstrations was more appealing than participating in traditional pressure groups especially for the younger generation. The movement also provided youth with a way to combine political participation with the emerging trends in popular culture.

Holger Nehring discusses the cultural repertoire of the nuclear disarmament movement in his 2013 book *Politics of Security: British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War, 1945–1970*³².

²⁷ See e.g. Carter, *Peace Movements*, 55–57; Taylor, *Against the Bomb*, 339–341.

²⁸ Carter, *Peace Movements*; Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*; Kate Hudson, CND. *Now More than Ever. The Story of a Peace Movement* (London: Vision Paperbacks, 2005); Cortright, *Peace*.

²⁹ Meredith Veldman, *Fantasy, Bomb and the Greening of Britain. Romantic Protest, 1945–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Lawrence S. Wittner, "Gender Roles and Nuclear Disarmament, 1954–1965," *Gender & History* 12, No.1 (April 2000): 197–222; Jodi Burkett, "Re-defining British morality. 'Britishness' and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958–68," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, No.2 (2010): 184–205.

³⁰ Mark Phythian, "CND's Cold War," *Contemporary British History* 15, No. 3 (2001): 133–156; Christopher R. Hill, "Nations of Peace: Nuclear Disarmament and the Making of National Identities in Scotland and Wales," *Twentieth Century British History* 27, No. 1 (2016): 26–60; Brian Lavery, "The British Government and the American Polaris Base in the Clyde," *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, No. 1 (2001): 130–145; Jamison, "Will They Blow Us A' Tae Hell?", 115–143; Alan P. Dobson and Charlie Whitham, "Project Lamachus. The Cold War Comes to Scotland—The Holy Loch U.S. Nuclear Submarine Base and Its Impact on Scotland, 1959–1974," in Jeffrey A. Engel (ed.), *Local Consequences of the Global Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 169–192; Alan P. Dobson, "Operation Lamachus: the Holy Loch US Nuclear Base and the Dangers of Local Radiation Pollution," in Luís Rodrigues and Sergiy Glebov (eds.), *Military Bases: Historical Perspectives, Contemporary Challenges* (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2009), 29–39; John Charlton, *Don't You Hear the H-Bomb's Thunder? Youth and Politics on Tyneside in the Late Fifties and Early 'Sixties* (London: Merlin Press, 2009).

³¹ George McKay, *Circular Breathing. The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); See also George McKay, "Just a closer walk with thee: New Orleans-style jazz and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in 1950s Britain," *Popular Music*, Vol. 22/3 (2003): 261–281; George McKay, "Subcultural innovations in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," *Peace Review* 16, No. 4 (December 2004): 429–438.

³² Nehring, *Politics of Security*; see also Holger Nehring, "The British and West German Protests against Nuclear Weapons and the Cultures of the Cold War, 1957–64," *Contemporary British History* 19, No. 2 (June 2005): 223–241; Holger Nehring, "Politics, Symbols and the Public Sphere: The Protests against Nuclear Weapons in Britain and West Germany, 1958–1963," *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 2 (2005): 180–202.

Nehring is mainly interested in the movement itself although he also touches upon the different forms of music sung and performed for example in movement events. He sees the importance of music in expressing the activists' views (for example through song lyrics) and in forging a sense of community (singing together, marching songs). Music was also a way to build continuity both between phases of nuclear disarmament activism and between the movement and other social movements.

In "The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music in the Antinuclear Environment from 1957–1969" Anthony Eames writes about "the transatlantic creation of modern protest music developed in an antinuclear environment". He combines analyses on sociology of the protests, musical developments and on antinuclear politics, making the article especially relevant for this study. Eames argues that the culture of protest changed in the 1950s and the 1960s and that music was central to the transformation. Like McKay, he sees music as an important attraction for young activists. The article discusses the control of music and internal conflicts over singing and participation of musicians, linking it to differing values within the movement. Critically, the study also includes an analysis of Scottish anti-Polaris songs.³³

The approaches of McKay, Nehring and Eames are different but complementary. McKay's main focus is in the music and the musicians and his work is largely based on interviews. His works can help answer questions related to the genres of music used in the movement or the reasons for participation by musicians in peace activism as well as the relationship between music cultures and the movement. Nehring's research, by contrast, is particularly helpful in understanding the wider cultural repertoire of the movement. His analysis on the different functions of music and performances will also be useful. Eames's approach focuses on the creation of the music–movement connection, including in internal debates, which makes the article closest to this thesis in its topic. Furthermore, his emphasis on the transatlantic connection provides helpful insight into the international context of music in protest.

Despite the similarities between the approaches of this thesis and Eames's article, the studies have basic differences as well. Eames writes through a transatlantic lens while this thesis is written from the perspective of the British nuclear disarmament movement. While Eames's study provides useful points of comparison for my analysis, I am able to move a step forward and include in-depth discussion and throughout contextualisation based on a broader selection of sources.

While the research of McKay, Nehring and Eames is valuable for this study, their work leaves plenty of room for my research. All scholars are quite focused in terms of the source materials they have included in their analysis. For instance, Nehring has not analysed audiovisual or audio sources which provide evidence of the cultures of protest Nehring discusses based on archival and published sources. McKay, by contrast, has largely relied on interviews. Furthermore, McKay tells only a partial story about

³³ Anthony Eames, "The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music in the Antinuclear Environment from 1957–1969" in *Journal of Studies in History & Culture* 1, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 2014).

music and musicians active in the movement. The role of the other major music scene in the nuclear disarmament movement, the so called folk revival, has not been studied. Eames's sources include written publications and audio and audiovisual media. His discussion on internal processes within the movement is based solely on published sources and interviews by others. The debates on music are not analysed through any archival sources, important for understanding the complex dynamics among and between national and local leaders.

While the British nuclear disarmament movement has been studied extensively, there are important gaps which this study helps to address. There is a need to better understand the internal processes and debates in the movement in planning the use of music as well as the ways in which musicking influenced the formation of a sense of solidarity in the movement and its sub-groups. Moreover, there is room for more in-depth studies in the interaction between contemporary musical and political scenes and the ways in which these shaped the cultures of the nuclear disarmament movement. Finally, by introducing voices from the less studied Glasgow this thesis questions the generalisability of the London-centric scholarship and contributes to the localised histories of the nuclear disarmament movement.

Music in Social Movements

Research on social movement cultures³⁴ has increased since the 1980s and studies focusing on music are becoming more common. One of the most influential approaches to culture in social movements has been *framing*. Framing refers to the process through which “leaders and organizations strategically craft their messages so that they have the widest impact or present events in the best possible lights”. From this perspective, understanding and taking advantage of the values, beliefs and cultural trends in the society is crucial for movement success.³⁵ Other scholars have researched processes of *identification* in social movements. As there are few direct material rewards and potentially many costs for activists, the mobilisation of individuals and sustaining of protest require explanations beyond conventional theories of rational choice. The concept of identity has provided useful insight into what motivates activists.³⁶ Similarly, explorations in *emotional* aspects of protest have increased the understanding on the creation, sustaining and disintegration of social movements. These approaches remind that emotions are an integral

³⁴ In this thesis ‘culture’ is understood broadly as incorporating behavioral patterns and performances, the results of these performances as well as ideas, values and norms shaping individual behaviour. Culture, therefore, resides and changes both in the minds of the people and in their interaction. For discussion on definitions of ‘culture’ see e.g. Hank Johnston, “Protest Cultures: Performance, Artifacts, and Ideations,” in Hank Johnston (ed.), *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 3–29; Jeffrey S. Juris, “Embodying Protest: Culture and Performance within Social Movements,” in Britta Baumgarten, Daphi Priska and Peter Ullrich, *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke and New York, 2014), 227–247; Dingxin Zhao, “Theorizing the Role of Culture in Social Movements: Illustrated by Protests and Contentions in Modern China,” *Social Movement Studies* 9, No. 1, (January 2010): 33–50.

³⁵ Hank Johnston, “Protest Cultures,” 3.

³⁶ Cristina Flesher Fominara, “Collective Identity in Social Movements. Central Concepts and Debates,” *Sociology Compass* 4, No. 6 (2010): 393.

part of all human behaviour. Emotional processes help to understand for example how and why music moves people or how enjoying protest affects motivation.³⁷

An important contribution to the debate on the power and functions of music is *Music and Social Movements. Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* by Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison.³⁸ According to Eyerman and Jamison, culture and politics are in a symbiotic relationship in social movements: “[Social movements are] providing a broader political and historical context for cultural expression, and offering, in turn, the resources of culture - - to the action repertoires of political struggle.”³⁹ They seek to exemplify, analyse and elaborate on these connections through several case studies. The linking of theoretical considerations to empirical discussion on songs and singers makes the book especially fruitful for my research. Processes and practices similar to those Eyerman and Jamison discuss in other contexts were relevant in the nuclear disarmament movement, making their theoretical insights useful to understand my findings.

Building on Eyerman and Jamison, John Street, Seth Hague and Heather Savigny⁴⁰ develop a model for analysing the role of music and musicians in political participation. Following this model, attention should be given to the organisation, legitimation and performance of music. Organisation refers to the conditions which make the connection between music and politics possible, for instance personal networks or resources. Legitimation, the process in which some musicians gain the status of “truth bearers” for political movements or ideals, is the second field of inquiry. Thirdly, there is a need to focus on what happens when music is performed, both to music and musicians but also to the other participants in the situation, the audience.

While I have not adopted the approach of Street, Hague and Savigny as such, I find their categorisation of these different processes useful. The three questions which Street, Hague and Savigny are asking are relevant in the case of nuclear disarmament campaigning, and they can be reformulated as follows: How were the uses and inclusion of music organised in the nuclear disarmament movement, and which conditions made this possible? Why and how did certain musicians or songs gain the status of “the voices of the movement”? How did the different occasions of performance of music impact the participants in them, and how did this affect the movement?

³⁷ See e.g. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (eds.), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

³⁸ Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements. Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Eyerman–Jamison 1998, 7.

⁴⁰ John Street, Seth Hague and Heather Savigny, “The Voice of the People? Musicians as Political Actors,” *Cultural Politics* 4, No. 1 (2008): 5–24; John Street, Seth Hague and Heather Savigny, “Playing to the Crowd: The Role of Music and Musicians in Political Participation,” *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 10, No. 2, (May 2008): 269–285; and John Street, “Fight the Power’: The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics,” *Government and Opposition* 38, No. 1 (January 2003): 113–130.

Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks's *Playing for Change. Music and Musicians in the Service of Social Movements*⁴¹ offers a third approach. Whereas Eyerman and Jamison focus on the production of music in social movements and the ways in which music reflects movements, Rosenthal and Flacks turn the problematic around and ask what music does for the movements. They go further than Street, Hague and Savigny in detailing how and why music works. The sources of *Playing for Change* include interviews, a survey, review of existing research and personal experiences from social movements. Among the key functions of music identified are "serving the committed", "education", "conversion and recruitment" and "mobilization". Interestingly, Rosenthal and Flacks also discuss the potentially harmful functions of music.

The findings of Rosenthal and Flacks are highly relevant for this study. Most of the roles of music and musicians discussed in their book are similar to those mentioned in my sources. They also analyse how musicians' relations to the music industry, the state and the movement organisations effect their role in movements. Such perspectives are useful for contextualising the research. However, since *Playing for Change* is written as an overview to the topic, it leaves plenty of space for in-depth analysis of individual cases. How do Rosenthal and Flacks's ideas realise in a specific historical context? Are certain functions of music more relevant for some movements than others?

Sources and Methods

This thesis combines an analysis of archival materials and published sources with oral history. Having a wide variety of sources allows me to study the topic from different perspectives, ranging from the organisers' views to experiences from the grassroots. As most of the sources contain only passing references to music in the movement the amount of data is not overwhelmingly large despite the great number of sources.

The archival sources come from two collections: the CND collection in the London School of Economics (LSE: CND) and the Janey Buchan Political Song Collection in Glasgow University (UG: PSC). The London School of Economics holds an extensive collection of documents from different nuclear disarmament organisations. Despite its name, the CND collection also includes sources on, for instance, the Committee of 100 and the Direct Action Committee. I have mainly used documents pertaining to the planning, discussion and reporting of movement activities as well as publicity materials such as songbooks. Relevant correspondence and participant accounts are also included in this study.

The Janey Buchan Political Song Collection contains materials such as songbooks and sheets, recorded music, archival documents on the Workers' Music Association, correspondence and other

⁴¹ Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks, *Playing for Change. Music and Musicians in the Service of Social Movements* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Books, 2012).

papers related to political uses of music as well as relevant publications such as the *Sing* magazine. For this thesis, I collected songbooks, sheets and numbers of the *Sing* magazine related to the first wave of the British nuclear disarmament movement.

The published sources I have used include books, records and one short documentary film. The books are accounts of nuclear disarmament activism written from different perspectives. Peggy Duff was the first Secretary of the CND and her *Left, Left, Left. A Personal Account of Six Protest Campaigns 1945–65* was published in 1971. *The CND Story. The first 25 years of CND in the words of the people involved* (1983) also contains accounts of those involved in the movement. Two of the articles are specifically concerned with music and songs and one with Scotland.⁴² The third book is Jeff Nuttall's *Bomb Culture* (1970). Jeff Nuttall was a jazz musician involved in the nuclear disarmament movement and the book gives his perspective on the role of music and the interaction between the worlds of music and activism. Finally, Christopher Driver's *Disarmers. A Study in Protest* (1964) is an early study on the nuclear disarmament movement. Driver had access to and extensively quotes sources such as diaries and media coverage which I have not had the possibility to consult. Therefore, the book also provides information on the public perception on music in the movement. Furthermore, Driver, while not directly involved, was sympathetic to the case, and his account gives invaluable insight especially into the views of the more religious supporters.

The music records were all published during the period under research. *Songs against the Bomb* (1960) and *Songs from Aldermaston* (1960) were published by Topic Records in London, and they contain songs associated with the nuclear disarmament campaigns. *Ding Dong Dollar* (1962) was recorded as part of the Library of Congress music collection efforts, and it has recently been republished by the Smithsonian Folkways. The album is a compilation of anti-Polaris and Scottish republican songs, recorded in Glasgow in the 1960s.

The documentary short-film *March to Aldermaston* (1959) depicts the 1958 Easter March to Aldermaston organised by the DAC. The film was directed by Lindsay Anderson, a nuclear disarmament supporter, later a Committee of 100 member and a prominent director in the so called Free Cinema movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The documentary is interesting as it includes both footage and audio from the march and related rallies, and Anderson used what he perceived to be campaign music as the soundtrack of the movie. Furthermore, the film was used as publicity material in the movement, so the role of music in the movie itself is interesting.

I conducted four unstructured interviews in Glasgow and in London in February 2015.⁴³ Although I had a set of questions I made sure to address in the conversations, otherwise the interviewees were free

⁴² John Brunner, "Music on the March," 45–47; Ian Campbell, "Music Against the Bomb," 115–117; Janey and Norman Buchan, "The Campaign in Scotland: singing into protest," 52–55 in John Minnion and Philip Bolsover (eds.), *The CND Story. The first 25 years of CND in the words of the people involved* (Allison & Busby: London, 1983).

⁴³ I reached the interviewees through connections of the CND office in London and the curator of the Political Song Collection of the Glasgow University.

to approach the topic as they preferred. In Glasgow, I conducted a group interview with three former anti-Polaris singer-songwriters and activists – Marion Blythmann, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross – and the curator of the Political Song Collection, John Powles. The second interview I had was with Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, both activists during the period under research in London. Rosselson is also a singer-songwriter. The last two interviews in London were conducted on an individual basis with Bill Hetherington, involved in anti-nuclear protests during the period covered in my research, and Albert Beale, active in peace movements from the years immediately following this period. Six of the interviewees were therefore able to share their memories and views on music in the movement while the other two provided more theoretical and contextual insight into the topic.⁴⁴

With their consent, I have chosen not to anonymise the interviewees. The discussions focused on music and activism, and the interviewees were not hesitant to share their experiences in these fields. For the purposes of this thesis, information about more sensitive topics which might warrant anonymisation is not relevant. Moreover, some of the interviewees might remain identifiable despite anonymisation. For example, I am discussing the Glasgow Song Guild which only had two members, Marion and Morris Blythmann. Therefore, it would be impossible to discuss her experiences in the Guild without revealing her identity. Naming the interviewees also makes it easier for readers to assess my analysis and interpretation of the sources as they can be cross-referenced with other sources produced by or including quotes from the interviewees. This also allows the interviewees themselves a better opportunity to critique my research. Finally, not anonymising the sources highlights the value of individual experiences in the nuclear disarmament movement. The interviewees provided invaluable insight into the topic under study *because* they were sharing their personal experiences and perceptions. Naming the interviewees places their experiences on equal footing with those narrated for instance in published sources.⁴⁵

The process of interviewing highlights the intersubjective elements of research. It emphasises the character of history writing as a dialogue between past experiences and the way they are remembered, current interpretations and the researcher's analytical framework and biases. Unlike the other sources in this thesis, the interviews were produced both by participants in the historical events and by myself. The questions I posed, my interaction with the participants during the interviews and the general atmosphere of the conversation affected the narratives of the participants. The dynamic in the two group interviews was even more complex.⁴⁶ The resulting interview texts are a mix of longer narratives and shorter remarks and answers. Leon Rosselson and Andrew Papworth also utilised contemporary materials – posters, photos, records, songbooks – to illustrate their narratives.

⁴⁴ See appendix I on pages i–ii for interviewee profiles.

⁴⁵ For a discussion on the ethics of anonymisation in oral history, see e.g. Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 126–128.

⁴⁶ For a discussion on the intersubjective dynamics of oral history, see Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 60–70.

Although using different categories and types of sources allows me to study the topic from different perspectives, not everyone's voice can be heard in the thesis. The sources do not include all activists or all groups of activists. The focus is on those who were involved in organising the protests or who were at least among the most active. Archives have preserved opinions and views mainly from organisers and those in positions of power within the movement. The individuals who were interested in being interviewed are all still active in different movements and are likely to represent the portion of activists more interested in music or most convinced of its importance. The published materials are also mainly concerned with the most dedicated activists. With these sources, the Glaswegian case cannot be analysed to the same degree with national and London-region activism, and this is not a comparative study. *The CND Story* includes one article on Scottish protests. Together with information gathered in the interviews and from songbooks, music magazines and the liner notes to *Ding Dong Dollar* this article makes it possible to contrast the London-centric discussion with examples from Glasgow.

Much of the data in the archival materials is in the form of brief references to music, making it easy to over-interpret and exaggerate them. Moreover, not all the plans and scenarios noted down were realised, and it is sometimes difficult to know how long the distance between the organisers and the grassroots activists was. Therefore, it has to be remembered that the archival materials can tell first and foremost about the perceptions of the organisers, and do not necessarily reveal much about what was happening on the ground.

The sources were produced with varying time distance to the events studied. Many of the archival sources were created in the process of discussing music and recorded the results and the views expressed in those discussions. Similarly, the published music was contemporary to the period under research. The later sources differ in their time lag. Some were written within several years from the events, thus sharing some contextual influences. Others date from the second wave of mass mobilisation for nuclear disarmament in the 1980s. Some are even more recent, most notably the oral histories, produced in 2015. These later narratives, mediated through subsequent life events and stories by others, are not primary sources of the events in the strictest sense. They are, however, primary sources of remembering the protest. The later sources also bring in the dimension of evolving traditions of movement cultures: how were songs and musicking practices thought to have influenced other movements? Oral history interviews, in particular, are interesting also because they tell what the interviewees thought important to mention about music in the movement. They contain narratives of personal experiences of the events and of individual explanations for these events. What did music in protest mean for the activists and how did they make sense of it? Furthermore, particularly when read in connection with written sources, oral histories provide hints to culturally and socially mediated narratives of the topic. If, for instance, certain stories are often repeated in later accounts but are missing from relevant archival sources, it is possible

that they have been created in the process of remembering and narrating the events.⁴⁷ Alternatively, such divergences between contemporary and later sources can provide clues to the different experiences of organising the protest and of partaking it.

Since the focus is on perceptions on music, the question of reliability in relation to memories is not the main source critical challenge. Instead, subjective and selective narratives are interesting for understanding which aspects of music in protest have been remembered. Contrasted with contemporary debates from the period under study and with sources from other times, these narratives can reveal how thinking about music in the British nuclear disarmament movement has evolved from 1958 until 2015. The political and other objectives influencing the sources also need to be taken into account. The Glaswegian interviewees, for instance, were sympathetic to leftist, republican and nationalist causes, whereas at least some of the English interviewees held strong pacifist convictions. Informed by their beliefs, in accounts of activism, some narrators may have exaggerated certain aspects or ignored others. These differences serve as hints for uncovering differing and conflictual opinions in the movements and understanding the reasons behind them.

The retrieval of data from the sources has mainly been conducted using qualitative content analysis. Content analysis is particularly useful for a study with a large number of sources with fragmentary references to the topic because it allows the researcher simultaneously to narrow down the amount of data and to decrease the possibility of ignoring important aspects of sources. This is due to the systematic practice of coding all available sources with a limited number of thematic categories.⁴⁸ The sources were first coded to identify references to music, based on the practical definition introduced in the research objectives. Early on it became clear that the wider soundscape is of relevance, and as a result I included references to silence in the data. The second coding organised the data based on the following categories:

- 1) Music and control: banning music, encouraging singing, guiding the selection of music
- 2) Narratives from protest events: experiences on uses and functions of music
- 3) Contextual factors: elements and trends connecting music and musicians to the movement
- 4) Supporting functions: fundraising concerts, social events, music in recruitment
- 5) Other: any other references to music in protest (discarded when the topic was narrowed down)

Further codings resulted in the structure and argument of the study. The research process was cyclical: the phases of data gathering, coding and analysis were simultaneous and the categories arrived at were derived both from the sources and with the help from theoretical literature. Similarly, the data collection process was influenced by new findings from interviews, published sources and archival documents. Such discoveries led me to refine my research questions and initial codes for written sources.

⁴⁷ Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 7, 54–55, 78–85.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Margrit Schreier, “Qualitative Content Analysis” in Uwe Flick (ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), 170–171.

Structure of the Study

This thesis is divided into three thematic analysis chapters. There is also a loose chronology to the order: from the creation of the music–movement connection to the planning of events to music in protests.

The first chapter discusses how and why specific genres of music and musicians became involved in the British nuclear disarmament movement. While the chapter serves as an introductory basis setting the scene for coming sections, it includes also discussion on the interaction of contextual conditions, individual views and decisions and movement dynamics. The analysis relies mostly on sources produced by musicians because they were the most likely to address the issue. Research literature on British culture and society in the twentieth century is particularly relevant for this chapter.

In the second chapter I turn to the planning of music in the movement. The core question for this section is what the organisers thought to be effective and beneficial uses of music for the movement. What songs and genres were found appropriate and useful for the cause; how and why was music to be controlled? The view is top-down and the focus is on the organisers' perspective. This is because organisers were the main actors debating the control of music. Their concern was generally linked to maintaining a preferential movement image in the eyes of critics and observers. In terms of research literature, the existing body of texts on the cultures of the British nuclear disarmament movement as well as on British Cold War cultures helps to contextualise the analysis.

The third chapter moves to the grassroots level and to the protest events. It discusses the perceived functions of music based on narrated experiences. How did activists think music was sustaining and motivating them in protest events? The data is derived from varied sources: written and published accounts, archives and interviews. As the functions of music were narrated through the other experiences in the events, these accounts show what music and musicking were connected to. As a result, the chapter deals with issues such as physical hardships and relationships. I have also drawn from scholarly works on music in other social movements to discuss the topic from a broader perspective.

1. FOR LIFE AND GOOD MUSIC: CONNECTING MUSIC AND ACTIVISM

A man in the *March to Aldermaston* had a peculiar answer to his interviewer: “You want to know why we came here? Well, the simple reason is we’re lovers of good music, for one thing, and if this hell of a lot goes up we’re not likely to hear good music anymore.”⁴⁹ The documentary also shows bands playing and people singing and dancing. There was music everywhere, and it mattered to the participants. This chapter focuses on the creation of the link between “lovers of good music” and those concerned over nuclear weapons. How and why did the worlds of music and activism become connected?

Connections between music and social movements do not form “naturally” or independent from individuals’ and organisational decisions. Moreover, in another historical context some other genres might have become the music of the movement. In subsequent protest movements in Britain activism has been accompanied by musics as different as rock, reggae, punk and rap. In others, music has been considered much less important if it has been used at all.⁵⁰ In *Playing for Change* Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks ask if there are “general rules for music that make for more or less appropriate ways to advance political purposes”. They introduce contrasting views from assumptions that music highlighting lyrics is more relevant to those emphasising the popularity or the accessibility of a music form. Rosenthal and Flacks also address the contextual associations certain genres or forms may have.

*Some genres are so tied to historical moments that their use always carries implicit allusions; musical conventions are so pervasive in most societies that listeners within a social grouping will general agree on the mood or “feeling” a piece of instrumental music expresses, whether it’s tied to particular times or not.*⁵¹

Rosenthal and Flacks’s discussion is pertinent to this chapter. Why did musicians related to the British nuclear disarmament movement perceive music, in particular certain genres, to be relevant for protest? Why and how did they become involved in the movement and put their music in its service? How did the historical perceptions and practices of music in social movements guide the forming of the music–movement link? What were the cultural and social processes encouraging the use of certain genres or forms of musicking? What was the influence of British Cold War cultures? These questions are studied mainly through accounts of musicians. They discussed the relationship between music and politics as well as ideological and political connections they and their music had. Similar references to music were rare in sources produced by other activists.

⁴⁹ *March to Aldermaston*, directed by Lindsay Anderson (Film and Television Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, 1959; London: British Film Institute, 2006), DVD.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Dorian Lynskey, *33 Revolutions per Minute. A History of Protest Songs* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010); Ian Goodyer, *Crisis music. The Cultural Politics of Rock against Racism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

⁵¹ Rosenthal–Flacks, *Playing for Change*, 240–242.

1.1. “More than coincidental”: Converging Trends in Music and Politics

*The jazz revival and the rise of the CND were more than coincidental; they were almost two sides of the same coin. Similar social attitudes and positivist humanist values informed them both.*⁵²

Ian Campbell, 1983

Musical developments and the protest seemed parallel to some who linked them to the “general milieu” or the “zeitgeist” of the time.⁵³ The two phenomena stimulated each other. The protest provided material for musicians and opportunities to perform; the organisers acknowledged the benefits of music and sought to engage musicians.⁵⁴ According to the sources, however, the roots of the connection went deeper than this. Several trends were given as explanations for the forms music in the movement took: musical and ideological developments, demographic and social changes.

In music, the years 1958–1963 were a period of change. In the 1950s a form of jazz inspired by early New Orleans brass bands – traditional or “trad” jazz – became popular in Britain.⁵⁵ The success of trad jazz “rivalled that of rock 'n' roll for a while”⁵⁶, and a lively jazz club scene was built around the music. The “trad boom” was at its height in the last years of the 1950s and according to George McKay 1962 was its last year.⁵⁷ Therefore, the popularity of trad jazz lasted almost exactly the time that the nuclear disarmament movement was at the peak of its first wave. In the opinion of the musicians in the movement, this was not a coincidence. They thought that something in the ethos or ethics of the trad jazz world made it open for ideas of the movement. Just like Ian Campbell in the quote above, Jeff Nuttall also thought there was a fundamental connection with opposition to the bomb and interest in trad jazz. “The world was evil, governed by Mammon and Moloch. New Orleans jazz was music straight from the heart and the swamp, unclouded by the corrupting touch of civilization. It would refertilize the world.”⁵⁸ While Nuttall saw trad jazz as a reaction against the technocratic, conservative society where the bomb was accepted and sex banned, Campbell referred more loosely to shared “social attitudes and positivist humanist values”.⁵⁹

⁵² Ian Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 115.

⁵³ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015; Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

⁵⁴ Ben Harker, *Class Act. The Cultural and Political Life of Ewan MacColl*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007), 136; McKay, *Just a closer walk with thee*, 275–276.

⁵⁵ Andrew Blake, *The Land without Music. Music, Culture and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 114.

⁵⁶ McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 49.

⁵⁷ Simon Frith, Matt Brennan, Martin Cloonan and Emma Webster, *The History of Live Music in Britain, Volume I: 1950–1967: From Dance Hall to the 100 Club* (Ashgate: Farnham and Burlington, 2013), 8–9; McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 49.

⁵⁸ Jeff Nuttall, *The Bomb Culture* (London: Paladin, 1970), 38.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 20–24; Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 115.

Nuttall and Campbell shared an interpretation of trad jazz as a form of creating or reclaiming space in the music industry of the day.⁶⁰ Feeling excluded from the popular culture of the day young people turned to alternative music scenes where they found music that “throbbed with life and a spirit of independence”.⁶¹ Nuttall linked the discontent of the young people to nuclear weapons. “The people who had not yet reached puberty at the time of the bomb were incapable of conceiving a life with a future. - - Dad was a liar. He lied about the war and he lied about sex. He lied about the bomb and he lied about the future.”⁶² Why should the lifeless, sexless music made by such liars appeal to the disillusioned?

“Generational” interpretations of radical movements and sub-cultures in the 1950s and 1960s were common, and as Holger Nehring reminds, it is important to recognise that such discourses constituted as well as described the debates and situations at the time.⁶³ “Generational awareness” and the alienation of youth were debated in the media and particularly among the young people interested in politics. Young people were gaining more influence as consumers as their income rose during the period under study. They were also studying longer and the availability of jobs was good. The contrast to the older generations who had lived through the world wars and the turbulent interwar period was stark.⁶⁴ However, at least the nuclear disarmament movement cannot be reduced to generational protest – many activists came from other age groups and the youth involved often had sympathetic families, some with radical histories.⁶⁵ Popular music scenes were not solely a kingdom of youth, either. Especially in the 1950s there were also people from older age groups as a result of the mandatory National Service.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, it is interesting that trad jazz and the nuclear disarmament movement were *perceived* as free spaces for expressing generational concerns. Peter Wicke has argued that rock ‘n’ roll was the first genre to enable “youth culture to gain autonomy”.⁶⁷ However, rock ‘n’ roll of the 1950s was rarely explicitly political whereas trad jazz allowed the young people to develop their political ideas in an environment experienced as independent from parental control. The new kind of protest events of the nuclear disarmament movement, especially when accompanied by their favourite music and bands, could

⁶⁰ Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 115; Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 21.

⁶¹ Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 115.

⁶² Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 20.

⁶³ Holger Nehring, “‘Out of Apathy’. Genealogies of the ‘New Left’ in a Transnational Context, 1956–1962,” in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder and Joackim Scharloth (eds.), *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960–1980* (Berghahn Books: New York and London, 2011), 28.

⁶⁴ Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, “Youth, Consumption, and Politics in the Age of Radical Change,” in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (eds.), *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies* (New York and London: Berghahn Books, 2006), 12, 15–16; Eames, “The Maturation of the Anglo-American Protest Song,” 9; Howard L. Malchow, *Special Relations: The Americanization of Britain?* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011), 99.

⁶⁵ See e.g. Charlton, *Don’t You Hear the H-Bomb’s Thunder?*; Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

⁶⁶ Frith et al., *The History of Live Music in Britain*, 94–95.

⁶⁷ Peter Wicke, “Music, Dissidence, Revolution, and Commerce: Youth Culture between Mainstream and Subculture,” in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (eds.), *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies* (New York and London: Berghahn Books, 2006), 109.

offer the political parallel to the jazz club. Such a parallel was recognised by Christopher Driver in *The Disarmers*:

*The generation of Aldermaston is an emancipated one, and where its parents have not consented to emancipation it has emancipated itself, using the money its predecessors never had to buy travel, jazz, and long conversations in coffee bars. Aldermaston made a refreshing change from Easter with the family in Southend.*⁶⁸

An important musical phenomenon both for the movement and for developments in music was skiffle. Skiffle, a do-it-yourself music, originated in jazz clubs and became popular among large sections of the British population in 1956. The repertoire of skiffers was broad: jazz, blues, folk, rock ‘n’ roll – almost anything could be skiffled. Its importance for the nuclear disarmament movement laid in the main appeal of skiffle: “anyone could do it”⁶⁹, “the performers required no musical training or skill apart from a basic sense of rhythm and three cords on the guitar”⁷⁰. The impact on British popular music was enormous: after the decline of skiffle “many of them lengthened their straps to go into Rock and Rhythm and Blues, and Furiated and Stormed their way toward Beatle- and Stonedom; others went back into the pubs and started the British folksong revival”⁷¹. And others returned to the world of jazz.⁷² In the nuclear disarmament movement skiffle was also a visible and audible presence and photos show enthusiastic youth with guitars and washboards.⁷³ Moreover, skiffle may have altered the perception of music among the movement. Since so many activists seemed to find musicking pleasurable and music important, should it not be incorporated in the protest?

The other music world closely associated with the movement, the postwar folk revivals in England and Scotland, began in earnest in the 1950s. There were two strands of the revival influencing the movement. Firstly, the Communist Party had actively supported the use of folk music in political and peace movement events. Secondly, the so called skiffle craze brought new enthusiastic musicians to folk clubs and the political variety of the revival increased. In *Bomb Culture*, Jeff Nuttall drew no parallels between the folk revival and the nuclear disarmament movement. He seemed to suggest that “left-wing intellectuals” of the folk scene supported causes like unilateral disarmament because it was politically the correct choice to make, rather than a matter of conviction.

*Art, creativity, mind and passion were signed over to an exterior morality, a cart-before-the-horse-process, lamentably and typically middle-class in its nature, whereby art, creativity, mind and passion were robbed of any real authenticity and morality was consequently devitalized, a matter of policy rather than conviction - - .*⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 59.

⁶⁹ Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

⁷⁰ Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 116.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 49.

⁷³ See e.g. photos in McKay, *Circular Breathing* and in LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/4/1.

⁷⁴ Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 38–39.

Campbell's perspective was different. He saw a clear transitional moment from the trad jazz of 1950s to the folk of 1960s. Unlike Nuttall, Campbell was involved in the folk revival as a songwriter, singer and a club owner. His understanding of the relationships between folk and anti-nuclear activism is illustrated in the following excerpt.

*The warm fraternity of the peace and folk movements, and the ready demand for peace songs in the folk clubs, was illustrated for me by a remarkable incident - - In 1961 I wrote an anti-war song called "The Sun is Burning", and before it had been published or recorded my sister Lorna performed it publicly for the first time one Saturday at the London Ballad and Blues Club. On the following Tuesday at our own Jug o' Punch Club in Birmingham a visiting singer sang it to us, introducing it as a new song he had learnt at a Bristol CND event that weekend.*⁷⁵

Ian Campbell's view was shared by others. When the folk magazine *Sing* was released, it began immediately publishing peace and anti-bomb songs.⁷⁶ In an article published in *International Socialism* in 1962 Bobby Campbell wrote about the folk revival: "Partly it reflects the cultural resurgence - - partly the decline of commercialized skiffle; but most of all it has been nourished by the anti-Bomb movement."⁷⁷ He also considered the Glaswegian anti-Polaris songs to have been the "most notable" expressions of the revival.⁷⁸ The liner notes to the *Ding Dong Dollar* LP had a somewhat different approach. They emphasised the historical continuity of political song writing in Scotland and described the anti-Polaris songs as a link in a tradition of ridiculing "the haughty and the mighty".⁷⁹ In a way, the connection was turned around: the movement did not nourish the folk revival; instead the folk revival was doing well and addressing all topics of relevance. Since the anti-Polaris demonstrations were the main mass mobilisation at the time, it provided subject matter for political songwriters.

Political songs were important also in the English folk revival. The nuclear disarmament movement wanted to affect British politics and raise awareness about the consequences of nuclear weapons and fallout, and political songs could be used for both ends. Folk songs were also potentially very useful in protest events: they were often easy to teach and learn and if the melody was well chosen or composed the song could be marchable as well. Jazz songs could also serve such purposes, but trad jazz was characteristically band music, not music to be sung without accompaniment. Moreover, the songs performed by trad bands were typically African-American spirituals such as "When the Saints Go Marching In" or "Down by the Riverside". While these songs could be good for marching and rallying and become popular among the activists, they did not contain targeted messages about the issues at hand. Folk songs, by comparison, were usually written for the movement. In Glasgow they were specific

⁷⁵ Campbell, "Songs Against the Bomb," 117.

⁷⁶ UG: PSC, PSC/1/4/1/16, *Sing* 1, No. 1, May/June 1954.

⁷⁷ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/8, Bobby Campbell, "Songs with Teeth," *International Socialism* 10, Autumn 1962.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, Glasgow Song Guild (New York: Folkways Records FD 5444, 1962), LP, 1.

enough to mention individual events and even police officers while in England the contents were more general warnings, visions and demands.⁸⁰

Trad jazz appealed to the alienated youth; folk provided an avenue for political expression. In addition, participation, democracy and community were values shared by the nuclear disarmament movement and the worlds of trad jazz and folk alike. Meredith Veldman writes about “romantic protest”, apparent in the nuclear disarmament movement, in the early environmentalist movement as well as in fantasy literature.⁸¹ Both trad jazz and the folk musicians sought to revive something older, the “golden years” of New Orleans jazz as people’s marching music, the “traditional”, “democratic” folk process of music-making and topical song-writing.⁸² The nuclear disarmament movement protested against the most developed weapons, the cold logic of industrial war. The activists called for participatory democracy and the right of people to have a say in their own life and future.⁸³ The CND argued for reinstating the British world role and global mission, drawing analogues with the years of the blitz and with the British role in historical achievements such as the abolition of slavery: “Let Britain Lead!”⁸⁴ Often the rhetoric echoed a yearning for a community, a vision performed on the annual Aldermaston marches described as pilgrims and festivals as well as in vigils, in civil disobedience campaigns and other protest events.⁸⁵

“Up to the point of the failure of CND it would be broadly true to say that pop was the prerogative of working class teenagers, protest was the prerogative of middle class students, and art was the prerogative of the lunatic fringe.”⁸⁶ As described in the introduction, the activists of the nuclear disarmament movement came overwhelmingly from middle-class backgrounds. The trad jazz and folk clubs were also popular among middle-class youth.⁸⁷ Since the nuclear disarmament movement also found its strongest support in middle class and since young people were overrepresented among its grassroots activists, one reason for the connection between trad jazz, folk and the movement was that these genres were popular among the participants in protest events. The popularity also meant that trad

⁸⁰ See e.g. UG: PSC, PSC/1/3 editions of Ding Dong Dollar, dated 1961–1962; LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3 Sanity songsheet for Aldermaston, dated 1963

⁸¹ Veldman, *Fantasy, Bomb and the Greening of Britain*.

⁸² McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 64–65; McKay, “Just a closer walk with thee,” 265; Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 218; Eames, “The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music,” 3; Michael Brocken, *British Folk Revival, 1944–2002* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2003), 25; Gerald Porter, “‘The World’s Ill-Divided’: the Communist Party and the Progressive Song,” in Andy Croft (ed.), *Weapon in the Struggle: The Cultural History of the British Communist Party* (London: Pluto Press, 1998), 177.

⁸³ Veldman, *Fantasy, Bomb and the Greening of Britain*, 201–203.

⁸⁴ Veldman, *Fantasy, Bomb and the Greening of Britain*, 139–146; Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 171; Burkett, “Redefining British morality”.

⁸⁵ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 59, 125; Nuttall, *The Bomb Culture*, 47; LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Easter Demonstration, paper by Sevenoaks, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/5, Executive Council Minutes, dated 3 September 1961; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Recommendations: Easter demonstration, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Suggestions for Final Day of Aldermaston, 1963; Veldman, *Fantasy, Bomb and the Greening of Britain*, 137; Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 190–191, 213–215; Spencer R. Weart, *Rise of Nuclear Fear* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 141.

⁸⁶ Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 114.

⁸⁷ Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 40; Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good*, 171.

jazz and folk could open up useful avenues for fundraising and recruitment, which encouraged the incorporation of music in the work of the movement.

1.2. “For Peace and Socialism”: Left-wing Musical Groups in the Movement

*We are sure that SING can play an important role in the struggles of the British people for peace and socialism.*⁸⁸

Sing magazine, 1954

The songs generally came from a political atmosphere that was republican, anti-royalty - - radical republican nationalist, and - - slightly anti-religious

Jimmy Ross, 2015

Interest in social justice and humanitarian issues made many musicians sympathetic to left-wing politics. By 1958 there was also a number left-wing musical organisations which provided a ready infrastructure for the involvement of musicians in the nuclear disarmament movement. The term ‘left’ can be used to include a wide array of different groups and movements in the 1950s and 1960s Britain, and international and domestic events further fragmented the field. The Labour Party, the trade unions; the Communist Party, the Young Socialists; the New Left; the anarchists; the radical Scottish republicans; the apolitical progressives – these were among the groups relevant for the nuclear disarmament movement. This section focuses mainly on the connections to the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the World Peace Council. How did their presence influence the culture of a movement determined to stay neutral in the Cold War?

The nuclear disarmament movement was politically heterogeneous: some were committed supporters of the Labour Party while others were critical of the Labour politics. Similar debates could occur in the musical scenes. In the first number of the magazine *Scottish Folk Notes*, Ian Campbell criticised the politicisation of the folk clubs and particularly the performance of “the ultra-simple parodies fitted to the tunes which are obvious vehicles for the makers of parody - - e.g. the anti-Gaitskell [Labour Party leader] school of songs.”⁸⁹ Not everyone agreed with him. One of the best-known anarchist musicians in the movement was Alex Comfort who was not afraid to criticise all politicians in his songs.⁹⁰ In Glasgow, the anti-Polaris songs were specifically written to have a sharp edge and to make fun of the actions of politicians and other decision makers.⁹¹

⁸⁸ UG: PSC, PSC/1/4/1/16, Sing 1, No. 1, May/June 1954, 4.

⁸⁹ Ian Campbell, “Political Pops?,” *Scottish Folk Notes* 1, No. 1, Autumn 1962.

⁹⁰ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably. The Alex Comfort song book.*

⁹¹ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

Generally, however, the debates related to individual politicians or parties in music and in the movement dealt with communism. There are two main reasons for this. As discussed in the introduction, the suspicion over communist affiliations was strong in Britain, and the Communist Party had lost much of its support after 1956. The second factor was that the Party was investing in culture, and its cultural policy included support for “progressive” music.⁹²

The main musical body of the CPGB was the Workers’ Music Association (WMA), founded in the interwar period. Originally it supported musicians and provided musical education, but in 1939 it established Topic Records to record, publish and distribute workers’ music. After the World War, the WMA increased its publishing efforts; it released songbooks and sheets as well as recordings to the growing folk music market.⁹³ The Association also maintained its affiliation with the Communist Party. It published Soviet music and promoted events on the Soviet Union.⁹⁴ According to Michael Brocken, the influence of the WMA was important for maintaining and even amplifying the left-wing music scene in Britain at a time when in the United States, left-wing political music suffered from anti-communist efforts.⁹⁵

The Communist Party also founded the London Youth Choir (LYC) which was to play an important role in the nuclear disarmament movement. The LYC was created for the World Youth Festival in Berlin in 1951, and it remained active after the event. The Choir was involved in the anti-nuclear campaigns of the British Peace Committee earlier in the 1950s, therefore creating a further link between music, left-wing politics and peace movements.⁹⁶ Despite the communist connections, the members of the LYC were not necessarily buying into the policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.⁹⁷ The multiplicity of motivations to participate in communist affiliated activities was common in Cold War Europe. For example, while many Western European World Youth Festival visitors were ardent peace activists and socialists, many others were mainly attracted to the opportunity to travel behind the Iron Curtain.⁹⁸ The World Youth Festivals were important also for other musicians. Another group attending the Berlin festival was Ken Colyer’s Crane River Jazz Band, and other trad jazz musicians were also involved in festivals.⁹⁹

In 1954, with the initiation of the LYC and the financial support of the WMA, the *Sing* magazine was founded. It was a bi-monthly folk publication which was to have influence on the folk revivals in

⁹² Porter, “The World Ill-Divided,” 177.

⁹³ Harker, *Class Act*, 104.

⁹⁴ Brocken, *British Folk Revival*, 52.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁹⁶ Porter, “The World Ill-Divided,” 178.

⁹⁷ For example Leon Rosselson described how he became disillusioned already before 1956, as a result of a visit to the Soviet Union. Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

⁹⁸ Pia Koivunen, “Overcoming Cold War boundaries at the World Youth Festivals,” in Sari Autio-Sarasmo and Katalin Miklóssy (eds.), *Reassessing Cold War Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 177–178.

⁹⁹ McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 54; Harker, *Class Act*, 110–112, 121.

England and Scotland.¹⁰⁰ It published songs and articles, and from the first number, the politics of the magazine were made clear: *Sing* was to promote peace and socialism.¹⁰¹ The *Sing* was to become important for the musical culture of the nuclear disarmament movement. It published peace and anti-nuclear songs, reported the musical side of important protest events such as the Aldermaston marches and the anti-Polaris demonstrations and provided guidance on building and playing instruments for beginners during the skiffle boom of the 1950s.¹⁰²

Since many musicians had had their first encounter with the peace movement and with disarmament through the Communist Party and the World Peace Committee, it is understandable that many sources connect communism, the folk revival and the nuclear disarmament movement. In planning music for the Aldermaston march in 1963, the organisers thought carefully about the “suitability” of organisations to contact: “Eric Winter and Sing, W.M.A., London Youth Choir – how do we see them?”¹⁰³ In JP Bean’s oral history of the British folk clubs, Hylda Sims commented:

*None of this folk stuff would have happened if it hadn’t been for the Communist Party, thinly disguised as the Peace Movement. There was quite a lot going on and it was all really connected with the left-wing movement, the anti-nuclear movement, all of that, and the festivals inside the so-called Iron Curtain.*¹⁰⁴

However, although the organisational affiliations to the Communist Party were unquestionable, it cannot be assumed that the musicians involved in them were uncritically committed to the Party. Musicians like Ewan MacColl may have been introduced to activism through the Communist Party, but many of them developed more critical stances particularly since the late 1950s.¹⁰⁵ Ben Harker describes the political atmosphere of the folk revival:

*The political wing, centred on the Workers’ Music Association, the London Youth Choir and Sing magazine, now included communists, former communists (including supporters of the non-aligned ‘New Left’ journal Universities and Left Review), and young activists radicalised by Suez. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament - - helped to focus the scene.*¹⁰⁶

Similar ambiguities characterised the trad jazz scene. For example Ken Colyer may not have had strong personal political commitments despite his history participating in the World Youth Festival and despite his bands becoming a feature on many a leftist and disarmament march.¹⁰⁷ In addition, trad jazz may not have been as clearly linked to left-wing politics as the examples from the nuclear disarmament movement seem to suggest. A demonstration on the Suez War in 1956 exemplifies this: “You’ve got groups

¹⁰⁰ Brocken, *British Folk Revival*, 47.

¹⁰¹ UG: PSC, PSC/1/4/1/16, *Sing* 1, No. 1, May/June 1954, 4.

¹⁰² UG: PSC, PSC/1/4/1 *Sing* 1–7, 1954–1963.

¹⁰³ LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Outline Plan for Aldermaston music, dated 1963.

¹⁰⁴ Hylda Sims, quoted in JP Bean, *Singing from the Floor. A History of British Folk Clubs* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014), 21.

¹⁰⁵ Harker, *Class Act*, 123–124.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 135–136.

¹⁰⁷ McKay, “Just a closer walk with thee”, 275–277.

supporting and groups opposing the [British] military action at the same national demonstration, and brass band jazz music swirling around everywhere.” However, as McKay notes, evidence of right-wing events accompanied by trad jazz is lacking.¹⁰⁸

The political heterogeneity of the folk and the trad jazz revivals mirrored that of the nuclear disarmament movement. It is notable that the musicians and activists could negotiate their participation in organisations formally sympathetic to one party of the Cold War while remaining critical of both parties and the Cold War in general. In Britain, at least, the Cold War in the home front did not prevent having mixed political identities or forming coalitions across the aligned and the non-aligned. There were also musical expressions of Cold War neutrality.

*We march right on to Moscow too,
Just like the fellow-travellers do.
We'll storm the Kremlin one fine day,
And take the trigger men away.
We're marching to the USA
To give the news to J.F.K.
We'll dig up Cape Canaveral,
No rockets will be left at all.*¹⁰⁹

The multitude of leftwing perspectives and conflicts within the movement was also captured in song. For instance in “Songs with Teeth”, published in the Trotskyist *International Socialism*, Bobby Campbell introduced the song “The Workers’ Bomb” (to the tune of the “Red Flag”, the Labour Party’s anthem):

*While Western arms we strive to end,
The Russian bomb we will defend.
Degenerated though it be,
It is the People's property.*¹¹⁰

In Scotland, the tradition of political music in working class culture may have been longer than in England.¹¹¹ Musicians connected to the nuclear disarmament movement saw such a continuity.¹¹² The picture of political music was complicated by the influence of the republican, nationalist, anti-royalty sentiment which was clear in the anti-Polaris songs.¹¹³ The *Ding Dong Dollar* LP, for example, contained both anti-Polaris and republican songs.¹¹⁴ The Scottish Cold War was not simply about the global

¹⁰⁸ Ibid; Quote by Alan Bonney, in *ibid.*, 276.

¹⁰⁹ Ian Vine, “Marching to London” in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Sanity songsheet, dated 1963. See also e.g. Sydney Carter, “Little Bomb Like You” and A McColl, “New Tidings” in *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/8, Bobby Campbell, “Songs with Teeth,” *International Socialism* 10, Autumn 1962, 17.

¹¹¹ Porter, ““The World’s Ill-Divided’,” 172.

¹¹² Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP, 1–2.

¹¹³ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

¹¹⁴ *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP.

bipolarity. There was the additional layer of the Scottish position within Britain and the ways in which the Cold War, in particular the military developments, affected it. This reflected also on the folk revival and on the anti-Polaris songs. They were not targeted at abstract enemies such as irrational global systems but at concrete challenges the activists faced during protests.¹¹⁵ They described the ways in which political decisions related to the Cold War were realised and experienced in Scotland. Cold War was framed and sung about in nationalist terms – the physical presence of the Polaris and the American soldiers as well as the power of London to decide on matters of (Scottish) national security were perceived as making the Scottish Cold War experience unique.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, Holger Nehring has come to a different conclusion, arguing that despite the placement of the Polaris base in Scotland, nationalist narratives remained unimportant.¹¹⁷ Nehring's work is based on sources on the central organisation of the movement. Like the CND Collection in the London School of Economics demonstrates, such sources do not provide a representative view of the regional and other varying interests present in the campaign. In the locally produced music, however, nationalist framings were in a prominent role.

While the nuclear disarmament movement was mostly an expression of left-wing protest, many participants perceived the cause to be unpolitical. For them, the question was rather moral and/or ethical.¹¹⁸ Some musicians shared this opinion. In a letter to Mr Haig of the CND, Denis Matthews – a classical pianist – explained why he supported the Campaign: “I have - - always kept aloof from any kind of party politics. But the issue at hand is not a matter of politics, but of humanity, morals, and conscience.”¹¹⁹ When the participation of classical musicians in the movement was addressed, the typical discourse centred on personal commitments rather than political alliances or characteristics of the music. For example in outlining the history of musicians in the peace movement, Bill Hetherington drew attention to the fact that both Benjamin Britten and Michael Tippett had been conscientious objectors during World Wars.¹²⁰ Christopher Driver provided the same information.¹²¹ However, not all classical musicians preferred to remain outside politics. Benjamin Britten, for example, was among the nominal vice-presidents of the WMA.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Hill, “Nations of Peace,” 37–39.

¹¹⁷ Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 164.

¹¹⁸ Phythian, “CND’s Cold War,” 135.

¹¹⁹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/2, Letter by Denis Matthews to Mr. Haig, dated 1959.

¹²⁰ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

¹²¹ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 219.

¹²² Harker, *Class Act*, 104.

1.3. Resources and Relationships: Building the Musical Infrastructure

*CND realized that bands were springing up spontaneously along the march, and so thought they'd use them. Flyers sent out to prospective marchers - - also had a line for people to complete: "I can play...and am willing to be in a band." So if we at national office knew we'd be getting several bands' worth of musicians we'd use them. CND identified a fundamental flaw in conventional politics: let's live, not destroy the world. So: let's have a good time. So: jazz and dance!*¹²³

John Minnion, 2001

Overlapping populations, shared values and the existence of politically active groups of musicians laid the groundwork for the connections that formed between the nuclear disarmament movement and the worlds of music. The practical involvement of music in protest, however, was created in the interaction between the musicians, movement organisers and grassroots activists. In this section, I am discussing how music was integrated in the movement organisations. What were the roles musicians assumed, and in which aspects of organising the protest was music commonly used?

The most common references to music in the movement during the period under research concerned protest events. The Aldermaston march of 1958 attracted the attention of politically conscious musicians, many of whom offered their services to the Direct Action Committee. John Brunner became involved after learning about the march from a DAC leaflet at the inaugural meeting of the CND:

*Marjorie and I - - thought what a good idea it would be if we could persuade some of our musical friends not merely to join in, but also to publicise it by going ahead to sing and play on street-corners, at stations, in pubs, and so forth. Very shortly we discovered we weren't the only people to have had such inspiration. - - all of a sudden literally scores of people were getting involved, some of whom had already composed and performed notable anti-Bomb songs - -*¹²⁴

In addition to performing artists, others helped by distributing songsheets and by teaching anti-nuclear songs to the marchers.¹²⁵ The DAC press statement listed the jazz musicians Ken Collier, Humphrey Lyttelton, Bruce Turner, detailing when they would be playing. In addition, “two or three skiffle groups” would be “singing peace songs to guitar accompaniment”.¹²⁶ As the amount of musical support given became clear for the DAC, the organisers started to plan the regulation of it for example by issuing guidelines for musicians and by publishing a songsheet of the preferred music to be performed. While the plans to control music did not succeed, the cooperation between the world of music and

¹²³ John Minnion, quoted in McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 57.

¹²⁴ John Brunner, “Music on the March,” 45–46.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁶ LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Press Statement on March to Aldermaston, dated 1958.

activism remained close and conflictual throughout the period studied.¹²⁷ In the coming years, the organisers learned to administrate the music by gathering information on interested musicians and forming bands and choirs out of them. The interest of participants was mapped out in the questionnaire for potential marchers; the respondents were asked to fill in a line “can play --- join a Band”.¹²⁸

In addition to individual musicians and bands, musical organisations also became involved. The *Sing* magazine and The Broadsheet King (John Foreman) published songsheets and books of movement songs, and Topic Records released records.¹²⁹ The Workers’ Music Associations publications also often featured anti-nuclear songs.¹³⁰ Sometimes these actions were coordinated with the movement organisations, but often the publishers acted independently. In planning music for protest events, organisers sought help from for instance the *Sing* magazine and Topic records, and local groups spread information about new records.¹³¹ Furthermore, the movement paper *Sanity* published songsheets, at least from 1963 onwards. Music could also be published by local groups.¹³²

There were also musician-activists, some of whom became organisers. For example the editor of the *Sing* magazine Eric Winter was the music marshal of the 1959 and 1960 Aldermaston marches, and John Brunner was involved in the London region CND.¹³³ Well-known musicians such as Humphrey Lyttelton could help by speaking in the meetings of the organisations.¹³⁴ The initial membership of the Committee of 100 included musicians such as George Melly and Alex Comfort.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ See e.g. Brunner, “Music on the March”, 46; Colin Irwin, “Power to the people,” *The Guardian*, 10 August, 2008. The next chapter discusses the discourses and debates on planning and controlling music in depth which is why I will not address the issue here.

¹²⁸ LSE: CND, CND/8/5/2, Questionnaire for Marchers and Advice for Marchers, dated 1958; LSE: CND, CND/6/1, Questionnaire for Marchers, dated 1960; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Edinburgh to London March, September, dated 1960; John Minnion, quoted in McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 57.

¹²⁹ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, John and Rita Foreman, *No to Nuclear Death*, 1958; UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Sing, No to Nuclear Death: Songs for the Aldermaston March*, 1959; *Songs against the Bomb* (London: Topic LP 12001, 1960); *Songs from Aldermaston*, London Youth Choir (London: Collector JEP 3003, 1960); UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Sing, Fall In or Fall Out?*, 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, The Broadsheet King, “R.S.G.6,” dated 1963.

¹³⁰ See e.g. Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger, *Songs for the Sixties* (London: Workers’ Music Association, 1961).

¹³¹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/1, Minutes on Nuclear Disarmament Week, dated 17 June 1959; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Outline Plan for Aldermaston music, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/4/2, Notes for Committees, dated 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/2, Coordination Committee Minutes, dated 11 April 1959; LSE: CND, CND/1/3 Coordination Committee Minutes, dated 13 May, 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/4/2 Notes for Groups, dated 18 February 1960; LSE: CND, CNE/2008/3/5, Bulletin 9, dated 15 July 1963.

¹³² LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Sanity* Songsheet for Aldermaston 1963, dated 1963; see also later *Sanity* songsheets in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3; UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Songs of Hope and Survival* (London: Hackney Y.C.N.D and Y.S. [Young Socialists]); LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/12 Committee of 100 Book Club.

¹³³ LSE: CND, CND/8/5/2, Aldermaston – Easter 1959 Special Notes and addenda to marshals’ briefing, dated 11 March 1959; LSE: CND/8/5/2, Instructions to Marshals, dated 1960; LSE: CND, CND/5/8, London Region CND Minutes, dated 26 July 1962.

¹³⁴ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/2, Executive Committee Minutes, 4 December 1959.

¹³⁵ Taylor, *Against the Bomb*, 196–197. George Melly was a blues and jazz musician and an art collector, and Alex Comfort wrote, performed and published folk songs – donating profits to the Committee of 100. Both were also anarchists and supporters of the CND. Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015; LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably. The Alex Comfort song book*, 1961.

In Glasgow music in protest events was organised somewhat differently. The musicians seem to have had more independence over planning their performances and song choices:

*Acting as an independent unit, they supported demonstrations called by the D.A. Committee, the C.N.D. Committees, the Glasgow & District Trades Council and the English and Scottish Committees of 100. They became known as the Anti-Polaris Singers and were accepted with pride and affection by demonstrators and organisers as their own establishment singers. No one told them what to sing, where to sing, or how to sing it.*¹³⁶

They published the anti-Polaris songs and sold the songsheets by themselves. They also sold the *Ding Dong Dollar LP*, released by Folkways, on the Aldermaston march.¹³⁷ Without sufficient data, it is not possible to assess how independently from organisers' instructions the Anti-Polaris Singers were able to function, but it is remarkable that the musicians felt free to organise themselves. Contrasted with the discontent expressed in England over attempts at control by the DAC and the CND, this suggests a less conflictual music–movement relationship.

Another aspect of the musical infrastructure were the interregional relationships. Knowledge about the events and songs spread fast in-between the different areas as musicians travelled between cities, performing in clubs and participating in protest events, and their songs were published for instance in the *Sing* magazine. In May 1962 the *Sing* magazine wrote: “There’s not much doubt about it, the stars of this year’s Aldermaston march were the Glesca Eskimos. - - Maurice [Morris Blythmann of the Anti-Polaris Singers] sat - - swapping songs with Alex Comfort - - for over an hour.”¹³⁸ According to the liner notes of the *Ding Dong Dollar LP* the song “We Dinna want Polaris” “[s]wept the line at Aldermaston were it picked up many accretions”.¹³⁹ In return, the *Ding Dong Dollar* songsheet of May 1962 offered a “salute to Alex Comfort” and added Comfort’s songs “Sit, Brothers, Sit” and “The Young CND” to the publication.¹⁴⁰

The initiative of musicians and the development of fruitful forms of cooperation with the organisers were crucial for building up the musical culture of the movement. Aldermaston marches, in particular, became musical events, and although people mostly came to protest against the bomb, the songs and the bands provided additional motivation for many.¹⁴¹ Moreover, musicking on the march reinforced the music worlds: “From 1958 the Aldermaston march was a sort of national meeting for practically all the folk clubs and quite a lot of clubs were formed following that. - - The word got around

¹³⁶ Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2.

¹³⁷ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015; “The Eskimos and the Mushroom Cloud,” *BBC Radio 4*, 9 December 2010; Nigel Denver, quoted in Bean, *Singing from the Floor*, 253–254.

¹³⁸ “Aldermaston Glesca Eskimos,” *Sing* 6, No. 9, May 1962.

¹³⁹ Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2.

¹⁴⁰ UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, Glasgow Song Guild, *Ding Dong Dollar: Comfort Edition*, May 1962.

¹⁴¹ McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 63; Driver, *The Disarmers*, 59.

and there was a sort of network of singers.”¹⁴² The nuclear disarmament movement also provided fruitful topics for songwriters and opportunities for performers.¹⁴³

While musicking in protest events is the best-remembered aspect of the music–movement connection, musicians also supported the movement in other ways. The sales of songbooks and records was sometimes directed to movement organisations, and musicians would perform in fundraising concerts. The archival documents make frequent references to such occasions.¹⁴⁴ This was a typical role classical musicians could play in the movement. Benjamin Britten’s “War Requiem” (1963), for instance, was commonly performed in these concerts. Britten was actively providing his skills for the service of the movement throughout the period researched.¹⁴⁵

Other fundraising events involving music were jazz and folk concerts and dances.¹⁴⁶ In the 1960s folk song events seem to have gained in popularity, following the rise of both the folk scene and the movement.¹⁴⁷ Classical and, possibly, jazz concerts could easily be attended by non-supporters of the movement since the music itself was often not directly addressing the issue of nuclear disarmament. Folk may have often been another matter, since peace and even movement songs featured prominently in the folk revival. This brings to attention the two other functions musical events had for the movement: recruitment and social bonding.

As the populations of the worlds of jazz and folk and of the protest events often overlapped and as the organisers recognised this, they took advantage of these connections. Concerts, sing-songs and dances could be an easy way for new activists to come and hear about the movement and to meet other like-minded people. In a CND discussion paper on money raising, the potential of dances, in particular, is noted for recruiting for youth groups.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, recruitment also took place in jazz and folk clubs as well as other places where potential supporters gathered.¹⁴⁹ Rosenthal and Flacks address another way

¹⁴² John Foreman, quoted in Bean, *Singing from the Floor*, 24.

¹⁴³ Brunner, “Music on the March,” 46; Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland,” 53–54; Campbell, “Songs Against the Bomb,” 116; Harker, *Class Act*, 136.

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/2, Cash Statement, dated 27 October 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/4, Report on the Financial Situation of CND, dated 1962; LSE: CND, CND/5/8, London Region Executive Council Meeting, dated 29 October 1962; LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/7, St. Marylebone, Bulletin, dated January 1963.

¹⁴⁵ Duff, Left, Left, Left, image 12a; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Nuclear Disarmament Week, dated 20 September 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, National Committee of 100 Minutes, dated 21 July 1963.

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/6/1, London Region March Committee, dated 4 February 1960; LSE: CND, CND/9/18, National YCND, North London Region, dated 6 December 1960; LSE: CND, CND/9/18, YCND Haverstock School Group Circular, dated December 1961; LSE: CND, CND/5/8, London Region CND Minutes, dated 26 July 1962; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/4, Action for Peace 5, dated 1963.

¹⁴⁷ The first reference to a folk song concert dates from 1962 (LSE: CND, CND/5/8, London Region CND Minutes, dated 26 July 1962), and a 1964 memo notes the success of the “folksong evenings” of 1963 (LSE: CND, CND/4/4, Mervyn Jones, CND Entertainment; dated 29 March 1964). The archives contain many undated leaflets and mentions in meeting minutes and circulars advertising “folk song proms” and folk song evenings”, and it is likely that at least some of these events were held during the period under study. (See especially LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/8)

¹⁴⁸ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/94, Money raising – discussion paper, dated 1962.

¹⁴⁹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Magenta 1; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Secretary’s Report, dated 21 January 1961; Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 15 February 2015; Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

in which music can help in recruiting activists. Attending performances or hearing songs may contribute to the conversion of individuals.¹⁵⁰ The musicians interviewed for this thesis did not think movement songs alone made people activists. The only reference to a case of music triggering political commitment was in Charlton's oral history study from Tyneside.¹⁵¹

Scholars of social movements have shown that social events are essential for sustaining movements in-between protest events and for maintaining and strengthening the motivation of the activists. For example Milton Schwebel has argued that to maintain the morale of the activists, peace movements have to create opportunities for individuals to spend time together also outside of protest events. This allows them to relax and have social experiences that strengthen the sense of community and sustain the well-being of activists.¹⁵² Moreover, social events can provide support similar to the political-cultural scenes which may be connected to countercultural movements. Not only do they contribute to "preserving movement identities and culture" but they may also provide places for activists to "recharge" or "lay low".¹⁵³ The organisers of the nuclear disarmament movement clearly acknowledged the importance of social bonding, as the sources are full of references to parties, gatherings and other social events.¹⁵⁴ Many of these were musical, and local groups could invite their activists for example to learn to sing campaign songs together.

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The music in the British nuclear disarmament movement in 1958–1963 consisted mostly of folk and traditional jazz. These music communities were seen as sharing the same spirit with the nuclear disarmament activists, and the worlds of music and activism shared much of the same populations. Trad jazz and folk were also popular among the youth, and the skiffle phenomenon of the late 1950s and early 1960s had increased the number of young musicians in Britain. Nuclear disarmament provided subject matter and performance opportunities especially for politically minded musicians.

Many political music organisations in Britain during the period under study were connected to left-wing politics, in particular the Communist Party. Although the CPGB originally opposed unilateral

¹⁵⁰ Rosenthal – Flacks, *Playing for Change*, 157–172.

¹⁵¹ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015; Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015; Mike Down, quoted in Charlton, *Don't You Hear the H-Bomb's Thunder?*, 176–178.

¹⁵² Milton Schwebel, "Peace Activists: Maintaining Morale," *Peace and Conflict* 14 (2008): 119–120.

¹⁵³ Darcy K. Leach and Sebastian Haunss, "Scenes and Social Movements," in Hank Johnston (ed.), *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 274.

¹⁵⁴ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Invitation to informal social, dated 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Letter by Peggy Duff to Arthur Goss, dated 4 March 1959; LSE: CND, CND/6/2, London Region Council's Circular 1 on the Easter Marches, dated 19 December 1960; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, London Committee of 100 Diary, dated 1962; LSE: CND, CND/8/5/2, London Region Circular 2, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/8/5/2, Will to Win 1; LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/8, Halloween Party; LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/7, Islington CND.

nuclear disarmament, many musicians involved in for instance the *Sing* magazine, the London Youth Choir and the Workers' Music Association were keen to participate in the movement. They had both the experience and existing networks for organising political musicking. Once in the movement, musicians could also choose to take distance from the Communist Party line and move closer to a non-aligned stance on Cold War. Therefore, while the movement benefitted from the communist organisations, it also created space for their members to challenge rigid Cold War interpretations and to continue political musicking from without communist structures. In Scotland, by contrast, the folk revival, politics of nuclear disarmament and nationalism were increasingly interwoven, and this was also manifest in the movement music.

Musicians generally became involved in the movement due to their interest in nuclear disarmament. They began providing music for various events: demonstrations, social gatherings, fundraising and recruitment events. Musicians also created an extensive corpus of anti-nuclear music which was published in songsheets and books and on records. Many musicians were also enthusiastic activists and movement organisers. However, despite the developing musical infrastructure within the British nuclear disarmament movement, there were challenges to a harmonious music–activism relationship. In the next chapter I will turn to the debates and conflicts over music within the movement.

2. MAKING GOOD NOISE: DEBATING MUSIC

The silence rule. Who dreamt this up? When were we asked about it? Marching through the wholly deserted countryside from Finchamfield we were asked to be silent because it was 'dignified'. I hope the cons were impressed! Can we have some direct action against silence?'¹⁵⁵

Peter Cadogan, 1961

In the nuclear disarmament movement controversies were common in relation to music and to sound more generally. On the one hand, music was conceptualised as a preferred alternative to worse kinds of noise; on the other, music or certain types of music could constitute unwanted noise and be harmful for the purposes of the movement. As David Hendy argues, choosing sounds is not an innocent act but reflects the wider power relations and tensions in and between groups. Noise is not an objective category, but conceptions of what is noisy are socially constructed. What is incomprehensible, even intimidating noise for some will be meaningful sound for others. Therefore, whenever something is labelled as unwanted noise, there is a need to explore the underlying conflicts to which this is connected.¹⁵⁶

In this chapter, I will discuss the aspects of control and selection of music in the nuclear disarmament movement. I will begin by analysing the debates on the uses of human voice in movement acts: shouting, singing and silence. Afterwards, I will discuss the processes and problems of selecting the music to be used in the movement. Finally, I will focus on the ways in which musicking in the movement was guided and controlled. The aim is to explore how music was perceived in the debates over activists' conduct and how these debates were linked to wider conflicts and tensions within the movement. Furthermore, focusing on the perceptions of music as good or bad noise allows me to address the tactical and strategic significance music was seen to have. How did music contribute, for example, to the image of the movement or to maintaining preferred behaviour during movement acts?

¹⁵⁵ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, dated 15 December 1961.

¹⁵⁶ David Hendy, *Noise. A Human History of Sound and Listening* (London: Profile Books, 2013), 326.

2.1. “Sing, but do not shout!”: Values of Singing, Shouting and Silence

*It is important to organise singing and music on the March as an alternative to the shouting of slogans.*¹⁵⁷

Aldermaston Sub-Committee, 23 January 1963

*I’m always interested in what observers of a demonstration think, how it comes across to them. And what might singing mean to them. How well does it communicate as opposed to making people shout?*¹⁵⁸

Andrew Papworth, 25 February 2015

Nuclear disarmers repeatedly framed singing as an alternative to other uses of human voice, mainly shouting and silence. Most often shouting was seen as unwanted. The quoted interview, for instance, continues:

Leon Rosselson: *Nowadays there’s a lot of shouting and a lot of drums.*

Andrew Papworth: *Nowadays there is, yes, what I dislike.*

Rosselson: *Yes, so do I.*¹⁵⁹

Similar references can be found also in the other interviews conducted in London.¹⁶⁰

However, the topic is most often addressed in the archival materials: meeting minutes, discussion papers and instructions for movement acts. The issue was debated especially in the 1960s.¹⁶¹ It is probable that the mounting pressures both from the external challenges as well as from the increasing complexity and internal tensions reflected also on the debates on music and shouting since the peak years of the movement. For example, on the last Aldermaston march in 1963, planning and instruction documents related to the march are full of references to the negative impact of shouting. The leaflet “Advice for Marchers” states: “Sing, but don’t Shout: Don’t shout slogans as you march. This sounds ugly. Join in the singing, which sounds good and helps marchers along the road.”¹⁶² The Aldermaston Sub-Committee also specifically requested Tony McCarthy to plan the playing and singing of music on the march.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Decisions of the Aldermaston Sub-Committee, dated 23 January 1963.

¹⁵⁸ Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February, 2015.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Albert Beale, interview by author, 28 February, 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February, 2015.

¹⁶¹ A simple count of references to avoiding shouting reveals no mentions in 1958 and 1959, one reference in 1960, five in 1961, four in 1962 and seven in 1963. Holger Nehring also notes that the issue was discussed in the 1959 Annual Conference of CND. Nehring, *Politics, Symbols and the Public Sphere*, 185.

¹⁶² LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Advice to Marchers, Easter 1963; Similar references can be found in the CND/4/3, Notes for groups on Aldermaston, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Decisions of the Aldermaston Sub-Committee, dated 31 January 1963; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/4, National Council Meeting minutes, dated 12 January 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, London Region Regional Reports on Aldermaston, 1963; and LSE: CND, CND/2008/12/12, St. Pancras and Holborn group newsletter, dated 10 March 1963.

¹⁶³ See LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Decisions of the Aldermaston Sub-Committee, dated 31 January 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Letters to Tony McCarthy, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Tony McCarthy, Outline Plan for Aldermastonmusic, dated 1963.

Peggy Duff recalls that the issue was a difficult one. “There were some who wanted to march in silence. There were always a lot who wanted to shout. That was a problem to which we never found a solution”¹⁶⁴. Singing, however, was a potential source for compromise – it could be seen as a middle-ground between “high and mighty” calls for silence and the “fanatical” shouting of slogans.¹⁶⁵

The negative perception of shouting can be understood from several perspectives. First of all, many of the organisers and supporters were concerned with the image of the campaign. From 1960 onwards, there was a lively debate on the methods and style of the nuclear disarmament campaigning. For example, in his discussion paper titled “CND and Public Opinion”, G. Petch argued that the CND (and the nuclear disarmament movement in general) had become associated with the “Aldermaston March image – fairly or unfairly – of a mass governed by emotion”¹⁶⁶. Similarly, Peter Cadogan described the chanting of slogans as “a substitute for thinking and talking and best left to the political tribalism of the fanatical sects”¹⁶⁷. What is similar in these opinions is that shouting of slogans is associated with irrational collective behaviour as opposed to well-reasoned respectable argumentation. However, Petch and Cadogan differ in their opinion on what should be done about the issue. The former calls for a more disciplined campaign while the latter would prefer to allow those wanting to shout to do so.

Occasionally, the organisers specifically addressed the shouting of “irrelevant slogans” or “party slogans”.¹⁶⁸ The worry over compromising the campaign image was related to the way the activists and the groups were portrayed in the media as well as to the internal complexity and tensions of the nuclear disarmament movement. Reporters tended to emphasise the role of the most radical groups in the movement. Nuclear disarmament was seen as a movement of communists, anarchist and beatniks. Peggy Duff recalls how “the press was always too ready to label us as ‘communist’ even when they weren’t there. After 1960 the TV cameras would always find the CP [Communist Party] banners on the march”.¹⁶⁹ In the context of Cold War Britain, the label of a subversive movement was a problematic one. Although anti-communism in Britain was far from the aggressiveness of McCarthyism in the United States, it was an important force in the British culture. Groups perceived to be radical were generally considered suspicious, and especially those on the left wanted to avoid being likened to communists.¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, as Jodi Burkett argues, for the majority in the movement the values of respectability and discipline were of high importance. Holger Nehring has also linked the calls for “less shouting of

¹⁶⁴ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 209.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid; Quoted attributes from LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, dated 15th December 1961, 2.

¹⁶⁶ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, G. Petch, CND and Public Opinion, dated 3 July 1960.

¹⁶⁷ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, dated 15 December 1961.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, CND Annual Conference resolutions, 1962; CND/2008/4/4, CND Executive Council minutes, dated 26 January 1963.

¹⁶⁹ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 128.

¹⁷⁰ Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good*, 230–231.

slogans” to the discussions on the respectability of the movement. While the activists saw themselves as successors in the tradition of leftist radicalism in Britain, for most this did not entail questioning traditional values and morality.¹⁷¹ Many in the movement sought to control shouting to avoid being seen as a noisy mob. However, since many others were in favour of shouting slogans, it seems that the issue reflected conflicting values within the movement. While some perceived shouting as mindless, for others it was a legitimate and effective method of campaigning.

Secondly, especially when the insistence on not shouting was not coupled with encouragement for singing, the reasoning was often related to the idea of silence as an effective method. Successful silent vigils and marches were referred to as “impressive”, creating an atmosphere of reverence, even pilgrimage.¹⁷² They were also thought to contribute to the image of the movement as a disciplined campaign for change. Silence was often used in direct action campaigns. April Carter, a DAC organiser, included it in her classification of direct action as a form of symbolic action.¹⁷³ As Albert Beale explained, being silent can help a group stand out in stark contrast to the noisier surroundings.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, it was sometimes argued that a movement for a serious issue should be serious in character, and therefore, rather than allowing shouting or festive music, silent actions and solemn music should be preferred.¹⁷⁵

Nevertheless, enforcing silence in mass action – in particular if the crowd is not stationary as during marches – can be extremely challenging, even impossible. In order to achieve the preferred impression, there has to be a careful tactical selection on the use of sound or silence. As Bill Hetherington noted, “there’s nothing worse than having what is supposed to be a silent vigil and then it breaks up.”¹⁷⁶ As silence could not be easily achieved and as shouting was perceived as something “ugly”, the middle-ground option of music was often encouraged. In general, the recommendation was for participants to sing campaign songs.¹⁷⁷ For example accounts on the Aldermaston marches show that both shouting and singing took place,¹⁷⁸ but the emphasis tends to be on the importance of music rather than of slogans.

Singing could also be seen as having tactic value. In the classification referred to earlier, April Carter lists songs as “supplementary aspects” of symbolic actions.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, in case there is a threat of an action turning violent, singing could be used to ease the situation. Bill Hetherington described his

¹⁷¹ Jodi Burkett, “Re-defining British morality: ‘Britishness’ and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958–68” pp. 184–205 in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010); 185; Nehring, *Politics, Symbols and the Public Sphere*, 185.

¹⁷² LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Easter demonstration, paper by the Sevenoaks group, 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Recommendations: Easter demonstration, 1963.

¹⁷³ April Carter, “Direct Action”, Peace News pamphlet 1960, quoted in Christopher Driver, *Disarmers. A Study in Protest* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), 240.

¹⁷⁴ Albert Beale, interview by author 28 February 2015.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Easter Demonstration – 1963, dated 1963.

¹⁷⁶ Bill Hetherington, interview by author 27 February, 2015.

¹⁷⁷ LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Notes for groups, dated 19 February 1962.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/17/1, Roger Gray, Aldermaston to London; both singing and shouting can also be heard in *March to Aldermaston*.

¹⁷⁹ April Carter, “Direct Action”, Peace News pamphlet, 1960 in Driver, *Disarmers*, 240.

experiences with such situations: “Somebody who’s got the sufficient presence will just start up singing and sort of draw people in, and the impending fisticuffs - - can be allowed to dissipate when they realise everyone is concentrated on the singing.”¹⁸⁰ In other words, singing could be used as a tool for maintaining nonviolent behaviour. This helps to explain the emphasis on discipline as well. Aside from the moral preference for it, discipline was also a crucial practical value for a movement committed to nonviolence. Nuclear disarmament also had plenty of opponents – in fact many thought unilateral disarmament would endanger national security – and during movement acts, activists would often face them. Aggressive language or gestures by either side might escalate into a physical fight unless the activists were consciously controlling their behaviour and use of words.

The opponents of the movement could also try to disrupt protest events using sound. Denis Knight described the entry into Reading on the first Aldermaston march:

*It was about half past five as we entered this square at a very fast pace, with every instrument that could play playing, all mixed up with groups shouting and singing. Above our heads the bells of St Mary’s were clanging wildly (we heard later that the Vicar was giving his bell-ringers an extra practice) - -*¹⁸¹

The narrator of *March to Aldermaston* elaborated, telling that the vicar’s intention was to drown the voices of the marchers.¹⁸² There might also be bans on music (like in the Speaker’s Corner) or noise. Pat Arrowsmith used music to directly oppose such a rule while attending a German Easter March.¹⁸³ Later on in 1965, when Joan Baez was speaking in a Committee of 100 demonstration in the Speaker’s Corner of Hyde Park, she was forbidden to play music. Instead, she sang without accompaniment.¹⁸⁴ Within the movement, sound was also used as a tool of disagreement as illustrated by Peggy Duff. “Another year we had them [the anarchists] down in the square, below the North Terrace, frantically blowing on trumpets, trying to drown the voice of the one MP who was speaking that year, Stan Orme, because for them he represented everything they were against.”¹⁸⁵

In the case of Glasgow, no references to discouraging shouting or encouraging the use of silence can be found in the sources. This is related to the smaller number of available sources in general and to the lack of comparable archival documents in particular. In England the issue, after all, was discussed especially in organisers’ meetings. However, there seems to also have been less distance between singing and slogan-shouting in the Glaswegian context. In describing Morris Blythmann’s approach to song writing, Marion Blythmann mentions how “you wrote a series basically of political slogans and you put the slogans into a song”. In Morris’s phrase, “You’ve got to ball it into a slogan.”¹⁸⁶ In effect, rather than

¹⁸⁰ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Unpublished diary of Denis Knight, quoted in Driver, *The Disarmers*, 57.

¹⁸² *March to Aldermaston*.

¹⁸³ Fred and Betty Dallas, “The Aldermaston muse is abroad” in UG: PSC, PSC/1/4, *Sing* 6, No. 10, June 1962, 104.

¹⁸⁴ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

¹⁸⁵ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 215.

¹⁸⁶ Marion Blythmann, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

having to make the choice between shouting slogans and singing, the Glaswegian activists would be singing slogans. It has also been argued that the Scottish campaign, particularly the anti-Polaris protests in Glasgow region, was less reverent and more humorous in spirit.¹⁸⁷ The anti-Polaris singers were keen to use songs as political weapons and they perceived the approach as belonging to a Scottish tradition:

*- - sings and surges full and free in the rich mainstream of Scottish satire, with ten centuries of authority and impetus behind it, vaunting the ethos of our Celtic ancestors, whip-lashing and riving its way through the rock of Scottish history and character. And full from the teeth and the tongue of this flood the ethnic soars, proud, joyous and defiant: "Fredome is ane nobil thing."*¹⁸⁸

The association with politics other than anti-Polaris is also noteworthy, and the irreverent tone was attributed in particular to the republican voices. The interconnection between anti-Polaris and republican may therefore have encouraged the writing and singing of less politically correct songs. Unlike in England where the value of respectability was emphasised, the anti-Polaris songs reflected a different set of values: defiance, confidence and nonconformity. Moreover, the proportion of trade union activists and communists may have been higher in Glasgow than in London, and the disputes between the different political groups may have been lesser. The protests in Scotland were also organised independently from – though in cooperation with – the English DAC, CND and C100.¹⁸⁹ Having the flexibility to choose the music most suitable for the local protesters and not having to carefully distinguish between (party) political and “moral” causes, the musicians in Glasgow could write politically direct songs with slogan-like lyrics. Having such songs also meant that there was less need to shout slogans. The difference in sounds deemed appropriate between the national, London and Glasgow campaigns is easiest to hear and see in the songs and in relation to the question of selecting music which I will turn to in the next section.

¹⁸⁷ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author 19 February, 2015; Janey and Norman Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland: singing into protest” in John Minnion and Philip Bolsover (eds.), *The CND Story. The First 25 Years of CND in the Words of the People Involved* (London: Allison and Busby, 1983), 52–53.

¹⁸⁸ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 1.

¹⁸⁹ Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland,” 53–54. According to Christopher R. Hill, Scotland had both middle class and working class strands of anti-nuclear activism, the latter often connected to the Communist Party. Hill also notes that for instance churches were important in connecting the activists. The movements, however, never fully merged, and the nuclear disarmament movement remained mostly middle class. Hill, “Nations of Peace,” 34–36.

2.2. “Respectable – not jazz”: Debating the Appropriateness of Music

I do see your point about the unsuitability of this concert [Jazz Jamboree] if it were the only thing that was going on, but if you notice the fund collected will go to the victims of the bomb, and as Brighton will be on holiday, the organisers felt it more likely that there would be good response to a concert of this kind, than if a serious remembrance service of similar were to be substituted. I would also point out that many people in England have lost their relatives and friends through the War in the East, and have no feelings of guilt towards the Japanese. Such people would therefore see nothing in such a concert to object to. I will however pass on your letter to Brighton, and they might consider if an alternative concert, for example a Folk Ballad could at this late date be substituted.¹⁹⁰

Secretary of the London Region Executive Committee, 1959

While there seems to have been a broad agreement that singing was preferable to shouting, it was more difficult for activists to agree what kind of music should be used. Were certain music genres more appropriate for the movement, or did specific events call for a specific type of music? Were some songs particularly useful or harmful? As the quoted above indicate, there were disagreements over the suitability of certain kinds of music or songs to be performed in movement events. In this section, I will discuss the occasions and aspects of such debates.

The discourse on the selection of music was somewhat different depending on the genre or type discussed. While individual folk songs were occasionally criticised, the use of folk music was not questioned unless the aim was to organise a silent protest event. By contrast, jazz music had a mixed reception. It was sometimes seen as inappropriate for a movement on such serious topics. On other times, however, the cheerfulness and “noisiness” of jazz was viewed as ideal for attracting attention and motivating activists. The contrasting attitudes were demonstrated well in the planning of two CND events: the Hiroshima Day of 1960 and the Nuclear Disarmament Week of 1959.

The weekend-long “On the Beach” Hiroshima Day project included demonstrating potential consequences of a nuclear strike for an English town (Brighton) and a series of CND events. A letter for volunteers called it “the most ambitious Campaign project since the Aldermaston march”.¹⁹¹ The project proposals refer to two events with music: a march and an evening function. The first proposal envisioned a “solemn” march with Salvation army or other “respectable (!) – not jazz – band”, but the final decision was to have a silent march. The evening function, referred to as a “jazz evening” in the original schema, became a jamboree with “jazz bands and singers”.¹⁹² The correspondence adds a further dimension to

¹⁹⁰ LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Letter from L.R.E.C. to Leni O’Connell/Croydon YCND, dated 25 July 1960.

¹⁹¹ LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Hiroshima Day, “On the Beach”, dated 1960.

¹⁹² Ibid.; LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Schema of “The Oxford Project”, dated 1960; LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Brighton Project, dated 1960.

the image. In a letter to Leni O'Connell from the Croydon YCND (London Region) – quoted in the beginning of this section – the secretary of the London Region Executive Committee replied to complaints about the programme of the project emphasising the purpose and the time (the holiday season) of the event.¹⁹³ Francis Tonks from Brighton CND replied: "I don't consider the objections of Croydon Y.C.N.D. are valid, since the purpose of our demonstration is to exhibit the effects of a 'Bomb on Brighton' (the title of our local posters) not to mourn the victims of Hiroshima."¹⁹⁴ Another correspondence took place between the London Region Executive and Francis Tonks. The Brighton CND had received help from local musicians and asked help from London. The response was that the L.R.E.C. could send some folksingers but "you'll need to make more noise than that for a jamboree".¹⁹⁵

Several associations to jazz arise from the planning and correspondence above. Firstly, jazz was seen inappropriate for a remembrance event, a perception not questioned. Interestingly the first letter makes reference to the lack of guilt. The implicit assumption seems to be that had the bombing of Hiroshima been seen more negatively by the general public, a jazz jamboree might not have been appropriate. Secondly, as proceeds from the events were directed to the victims of nuclear weapons, this justified the celebratory nature of the jamboree. Therefore, the purpose of the event made its form acceptable. Thirdly, jazz was treated as an attraction appealing to those on holiday in Brighton and as something to make noise. Folk music was not seen capable of similar effect. Moreover, folk was not referred to as inappropriate or disrespectful.

Using music to make noise and to attract was a tactic also recommended a year earlier in the planning of the Nuclear Disarmament Week. The purpose of the week was to raise awareness about nuclear disarmament and to gain support for the CND. The model programme asked: "Are there any jazz bands, skiffle groups, brass bands, Morris dancers, etc. in your area? If so, get in touch with them. Anything which will make a noise, stop people in the street, or be persuaded to lead a march is of great value." The organisation of dances and having "singers in central places" was also recommended.¹⁹⁶ Attracting attention was the first step to raising awareness and to gaining more supporters and funds. The difference between the Hiroshima Day of 1960 and the Nuclear Disarmament Week of 1959 is one of association and purpose. While both aimed at increasing support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, the Nuclear Disarmament Week lacked the direct link to Hiroshima. There was also no attempt to demonstrate a possible post-nuclear situation in Britain. The mood was less morbid and more celebratory. Furthermore, the CND and the movement in general had gained more publicity by 1960, raising the

¹⁹³ LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Letter from L.R.E.C. to Leni O'Connell/Croydon YCND, dated 25 July 1960.

¹⁹⁴ LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Letter from Francis Tonks/Brighton CND to L.R.E.C., dated 27 July 1960.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid; LSE: CND, CND/5/17, Letter from Tom Holloway/L.R.E.C. to Francis Tonks/Brighton CND, dated 29 July 1960.

¹⁹⁶ LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/1, Minutes on Nuclear Disarmament Week, dated 17 June 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/1, Minutes on Nuclear Disarmament Week, dated 30 June 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/2, Nuclear Disarmament Week Programme Suggestion, dated 1959; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, CND Special Bulletin, dated July 1959.

awareness of the image of the movement. As noted in the previous section, consciousness about the connection between noise and (unfavourable) movement image increased in the 1960s whereas comments about the public perception on the movement were not as prevalent in 1958 and 1959.

The perception of jazz as attractive but potentially inappropriate was not unique to the nuclear disarmament movement and it is connected to the exoticised image of jazz. George McKay writes about the appeal of jazz as a global culture, discussing how it was connected to the racialised white imagination. Jazz as the exoticism of blackness was “sexualized - - criminalized - - primitivized - - narcotized - - [and] animalized” in the 20th century Europe. Other American music with African-American roots, for instance rock’n’roll, were met with similar fascination and resistance. While the attraction of jazz was also based on its association with democracy and struggle,¹⁹⁷ the exoticised perceptions help to understand why jazz was thought to be improper for serious political purposes on the one hand and valuable for attracting attention on the other hand. Another factor may have been that traditional jazz was particularly popular among the politically active youth. This may have decreased its appeal among the organisers most wary of unwanted political associations as well as those concerned about the trends and lifestyles of the younger generations. It is noteworthy that similar debates over the appropriateness of music, with comparable discourses on jazz, took place in the West German nuclear disarmament movement.¹⁹⁸

Political associations as well as other potentially problematic contents were particularly relevant in selecting the songs to be sung in protest events. John Brunner wrote about “The Gauleiter” sent by the DAC to ensure that the songs for the first Aldermaston march “remained ideologically pure” by censoring them.¹⁹⁹ In an interview with Colin Irwin, Karl (formerly Fred) Dallas also referred to attempts by the organisers to ban songs. “Certain songs were banned, not necessarily because of their content, but because they were sung by communist sympathisers like Pete Seeger²⁰⁰. Among those subject to embargo, I recall, were ‘Down By the Riverside’ and ‘If I Had a Hammer’.”²⁰¹ “Down by the Riverside” was included in the official songsheet of the 1958 Aldermaston march, but “If I Had a Hammer” was not published in the earliest movement songsheets.²⁰² Considering the prevalence of debates over the movement image, conflicts over songs with political associations were hardly surprising. In Glasgow the situation was different. The Anti-Polaris Singers were able to include republican and anti-American content in their songs without monitoring by the movement organisers.²⁰³ This was well reflected on the

¹⁹⁷ McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 9.

¹⁹⁸ Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 197.

¹⁹⁹ Brunner, “Music on the March,” 46.

²⁰⁰ During the period under study, Pete Seeger was blacklisted due to accusations over un-American activities.

²⁰¹ Karl Dallas, quotes in Colin Irwin, “Power to the people” in *The Guardian*, 10 August 2008.

²⁰² LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for the Aldermaston march, 1958.

²⁰³ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2; Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

title of the Folkways LP: *Anti-Polaris and Scottish Republican Songs*²⁰⁴ – the two causes were linked in the eyes of the musicians. This did not mean, however, that the mixing of republican politics into anti-nuclear protests was undisputed. One reviewer in the *Sing* magazine, for instance, wrote:

*I'm not certain of the wisdom of putting three purely anti-monarchist songs on the disc. Coronation coranach is a very good song and the Scottish nationalist struggle is not far removed from the anti-Polaris fight. But I hope its inclusion here will not antagonise any anti-Polaris supporters who do not happen to be opposed to the rule of Whitehall. It is perhaps significant that the three anti-monarchist songs are not included in any edition of the book "Ding Dong Dollar".*²⁰⁵

As the reviewer (“J.M.”) notes, although the Anti-Polaris Singers wrote and performed also republican songs, these were not included in the *Ding Dong Dollar* songsheets distributed in protest events. The situation is therefore comparable to for example the London Youth Choir which would perform both in (party) political and in nuclear disarmament events with a song repertoire tailored for each occasion.

The selection of appropriate songs was also a source of controversy in-between different groups within the movement. A note from the Southall CND, sent to the Secretary of the London Region CND is revealing: “If there is to be singing, more suitable songs should be chosen. Songs like 'Ban Ban the Bloody H'Bomb' should be discouraged.”²⁰⁶ By contrast, Tony Papard introduced the same song on his website remembering how “the eliteration and mild swearing meant it could be sung with great feeling when you were tired, bitter and cold on the third or fourth day of the Aldermaston March”²⁰⁷. This reflects both the heterogeneous character of the movement and the different moral ideas held by the (often) older organisers and (especially) the younger grassroots activists.

²⁰⁴ *Ding Dong Dollar*, emphasis by author.

²⁰⁵ UG: PSC, PSC/1/4, Sing 7, No. 2 (October 1962), 24.

²⁰⁶ LSE: CND, CND/6/4, Letter by Bob Gene(?) of Southall CND to the Secretary of the London Region CND, dated 21st February 1963.

²⁰⁷ Tony Papard, *The Aldermaston Songbook*, available from http://www.tonypapard.info/?page_id=4517 (accessed 23 March, 2015). Tony Papard became involved in the nuclear disarmament movement in his late teens in 1961.

2.3. Making a Sing-Along Protest: Guiding the Transmission of Music

*In order that the theme of the march be kept clear and make the greatest possible impact, marchers and musicians are asked to sing only the songs on this sheet and that other songs with political associations be not sung.*²⁰⁸

Songs for the Aldermaston March, 1958

*John Foreman dropped in and out of the march with song-sheets, teaching enough people the tunes to keep them singing and then moving on.*²⁰⁹

John Brunner, 1983

There were practical reasons for choosing to sing certain kinds of songs rather than others. A rule of thumb was to sing movement songs. As Bill Hetherington noted, singing the most popular pop songs might have been enjoyable, but it could have given off the image of a large “picnic” rather than a protest march.²¹⁰ The nuclear disarmers had a cause, and the songs had to reflect it. Furthermore, the methods and approaches suggested in the songs had to be acceptable for the majority in the movement – songs calling for the use of violence, for example, would not have been approved by most activists and organisers.

The organisers attempted to actively encourage the singing of appropriate songs. A good example are the Aldermaston songsheets. These were distributed prior and during the Aldermaston marches, and with the exception of the 1958 and the 1963 sheets, the organisers gave no instructions on how to use them. The first and the last sheets make an interesting pair – completely different in their approach to freedom allowed for their users.

DAC, 1958: *These songs have been selected and approved on behalf of the Aldermaston March Committee as a means of expressing the spirit and purpose of the march. In order that the theme of the march be kept clear and make the greatest possible impact, marchers and musicians are asked to sing only the songs on this sheet and that other songs with political associations be not sung.*²¹¹

CND, 1963: *This is a songsheet for the Aldermaston march – and for other marches and demonstrations connected with it. It is a sheet to sing from. If you don't like these words, sing others. If you don't like these songs, compose others. - - Now let's make this Aldermaston sing along.*²¹²

The DAC instructed the marches not to sing any other songs while the CND encouraged the activists to sing whichever songs they thought useful. The contrasting positions reflect at least their

²⁰⁸ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for the Aldermaston March, dated 1958.

²⁰⁹ Brunner, “Music on the March,” 46.

²¹⁰ Bill Hetherington, interview with author, 27 February 2015.

²¹¹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for the Aldermaston March, dated 1958.

²¹² LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Sanity Songsheet, dated 1963.

creators' backgrounds and purposes and the changed context of protest. As mentioned earlier, the Aldermaston March Committee of the DAC wanted to control the choice of music on the march, and the 1958 songsheet was clearly published for this reason. Quoting the *Peace News*, Christopher Driver called the sheet a “fiasco”, and many of the songs were not republished.²¹³ In 1963, Tony McCarthy was given the task to discourage the shouting of slogans by encouraging singing. His plan lists three goals: “to get groups singing, to boost tired marchers, to greet and send people off from stopping places”.²¹⁴ Presumably the best way to encourage singing was to introduce a wide selection of songs to the marchers and to allow the creativity they had demonstrated in earlier protest events. The march had also evolved from the original 1958 plan of a relatively small pilgrimage of a Gandhian group to the next decade's colourful mass event resembling a festival as much as a pilgrimage. There was no precedent in 1958, but in 1963 participants expected to hear and make music and enjoy the protest.

Songsheets were also distributed in the anti-Polaris demonstrations. In Glasgow the publishing of the anti-Polaris songsheets began by request of activists. To ensure the political responsiveness of the songs a new sheet was published for every demonstration with at least one new song and a fresh cover illustration. This allowed the musician-activists to sell further copies to those who may have already purchased the previous edition. The back covers of the later editions listed all the previously published sheets (**Table 1**). The publishing and distribution of *Ding Dong Dollars* was handled by the anti-Polaris Singers. In order to publish the music, they created the Glasgow Song Guild, “a totally fictional organisation” which consisted of Marion and Morris Blythmann.²¹⁵

Table 1. List of editions of *Ding Dong Dollar*, June 1962. Source: UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Ding Dong Dollar*: Boomerang edition, July 1962.

<i>First</i>	<i>(Duplicated)</i>	<i>May</i>	1961
<i>Second</i>	<i>(Pirated)</i>	<i>May</i>	1961
<i>Third</i>	<i>(Berserk)</i>	<i>June</i>	1961
<i>Fourth</i>	<i>(Moscow)</i>	<i>Sept.</i>	1961
<i>Fifth</i>	<i>(Eskimo)</i>	<i>Dec.</i>	1961
<i>Sixth</i>	<i>(New York)</i>	<i>April</i>	1962
<i>Seventh</i>	<i>(Comfort)</i>	<i>May</i>	1962
<i>Eight</i>	<i>(Boomerang)</i>	<i>June</i>	1962

While campaign music was distributed in print and on record, participants frequently recalled the oral transmission of songs – “mostly it was an oral tradition”.²¹⁶ Some of the teaching of songs was planned and strategic: musicians such as John Foreman and the London Youth Choir would teach the songs

²¹³ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 61.

²¹⁴ LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Outline Plan for Aldermastonmusic, dated 1963. Out of the nine songs in the sheets, four were not included in any of the songsheets, -books or recordings included in the sources of this thesis. One of those not included was what the DAC had decided to be the “theme song” of the march. (LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for the Aldermaston march, dated 1958.)

²¹⁵ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

²¹⁶ See e.g. *ibid*; Leon Rosselson and Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

during the Aldermaston marches.²¹⁷ Activists and musicians also organised events for the purpose. In 1963 the London Region Aldermaston units (so called “Magenta Units”) organised pre-Aldermaston marches. “It was agreed that these marches should end with a social and a sing song, the main idea being that people should get to know the words of the Campaign songs for Aldermaston.”²¹⁸ The quote refers to two justifications for these events: they were social and educational and as such could both reinforce the activists’ sense of commitment and promote the singing of preferred songs, thus helping the creation of “appropriate” soundscape for the march.

Music was also learned outside the movement framework. Ian Campbell’s experience with the travelling of the song “Sun Is Burning” – quoted in the previous chapter – is a good example of how well networked the worlds of music and nuclear disarmament activism were. The story also exemplifies how the same song could be learned either through a movement event (by the Bristol CND) or by going to folk clubs (London Ballads and Blues Club, Birmingham Jug o’ Punch Club).²¹⁹ A third place for learning the song would be a demonstration, for example a nuclear disarmament rally. Of course, others could first see the song in a songsheet or music magazine (the *Sanity* songsheet for Aldermaston 1963; *Sing* magazine of June 1963) or hear it on a record (Ian Campbell Folk Group, 1963).²²⁰ The multiplicity of channels for learning anti-nuclear songs ensured that many activists were familiar with them. This encouraged the singing of the songs and re-enforced the image of the movement as a singing protest. However, the variety of places for hearing music also made it more difficult for the organisers to control the selection of music. Acknowledging this, the organisers focused increasingly on encouraging *any* singing and discouraging shouting. The preferred movement songs were promoted in print and on record which seems to have worked to a large degree. Critical or negative reactions to the songs sung for example on the Aldermaston marches were remarkably rare.

The songwriters had a crucial role in creating movement music. They were conscious of the context of the musicking when writing the songs. In a rally, the situation was somewhat more straightforward: singers and bands would play from the front, with the occasional sing-along song added to the programme. The songs performed in a rally could include both simpler “slogan songs” as well as “more thoughtful” or narrative songs which might not be suitable for joint singing because of their complex melodies or lyrics. This allowed the songwriters more flexibility in expressing their thoughts. On a march or other protest event where the musicking was communal, the choice of song had to be more careful:

²¹⁷ Brunner, “Music on the March,” 46; LSE: CND, CND/6/3, Report of Aldermaston Officers’ Meeting, dated 15 December 1961.

²¹⁸ LSE: CND, CND/8/5/2, Magenta 2, Pre-Aldermaston bulletin No. 1, dated 1963.

²¹⁹ Campbell, “Music Against the Bomb,” 117.

²²⁰ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Sanity* songsheet for Aldermaston, dated 1963; Ian Campbell Folk Group, *The Crow and The Cradle/The Sun Is Burning*, Topic STOP 102, 1963, vinyl record; UG: PSC, PSC/1/4/1/22, *Sing* Vol. 7 No. 5, June 1963, 53.

songs had to be easy to learn and repetitive enough.²²¹ In Glasgow, the verses were also kept short so that their message could be easily understood by on-lookers who might only have time to hear one or two lines before the march moved on.²²²

The placement of bands on the Aldermaston march was also planned. If the bands led the march, they acted as “messengers” and provided clear direction for the rest of the march. If, however, they would play in-between and at the end of the march, their music would boost the morale of the marchers more effectively. Eventually the organisers decided to choose a third option: the bands would be brought to a location in front of the march where they would play until the march had passed by. Then they would be driven to a new destination and this would be repeated throughout the event. This allowed them to play for both the marchers and the onlookers.²²³ The placement of bands and the guiding of musicking on the march was the responsibility of so called music marshals. The Aldermaston marshals were “responsible for the March on the road” and for example in 1960 – apart from the chief marshal and their deputies – they were in charge of the different sectors, banners, children participants and music.²²⁴ The fact that the organisation of music warranted its own marshal is important. Music was considered important for the march and its image as a whole, similar to the banners which created a visual brand unifying the heterogeneous groups and sections partaking the protest event.

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In *Politics of Security* Holger Nehring notes that music on the Aldermaston march was never seriously questioned.²²⁵ My research confirms his observation although only as a general rule. The majority of the debates over music in the nuclear disarmament movement dealt with the overall soundscape of the protest events such as the Aldermaston marches. The main problem was that some activists wanted to shout slogans while others disliked chanting, considering it would harm the image of the movement. As a compromise the organisers began to encourage singing in protest events.

Individual songs were occasionally, albeit rarely, criticised, and not everyone was happy with partaking a musical march. Moreover, many of the organisers deemed silent protest to be more impressive. In case music was to be present, the choice had to be appropriate for the occasion as exemplified by the debate over a Hiroshima Day jazz jamboree. The presence of music was perceived somewhat differently in Glasgow where music seems to have been considered more integral for the

²²¹ Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015; Leon Rosselson and Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

²²² Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

²²³ McKay, *Circular Breathing*, 60.

²²⁴ LSE: CND, CND/6/1, Report of the March Committee, dated 9 March 1960.

²²⁵ Nehring, *Politics of Security*, 197.

protests. The line between slogan shouting and singing was blurred and the sources provide no trace of controversies over the choice of songs. The fact that the writing and distribution of songs was concentrated in the hands of fewer musicians decreased the likelihood of such conflicts.

In both areas, a great amount of preparation went to ensuring that the preferred movement music was widely distributed and learned by the activists. The aim was both to create a positive soundscape for the protest and to make the most of the positive effects the music had on the marchers. In the third chapter I will discuss these effects in detail.

3. SUSTAINING SPIRIT AND SOLIDARITY: MUSIC IN PROTEST EVENTS

*Six judges spoke of the tremendous effect [The H-Bomb's Thunder] had had on those who had heard it at various meetings and marches organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Not all this effect can be written off as a product of the emotions the H-Bomb arouses in people's minds. It is the best campaign song for a good many years.*²²⁶

Sing magazine, 1960

“The H-Bomb’s Thunder” was not the only song strongly influencing activists although for many it may have been the most important. The effects of musicking in protest events is, in fact, the best remembered aspect of music in the British nuclear disarmament movement. It is not a coincidence that many accounts, even studies, of the protests borrow their titles from anti-nuclear songs or otherwise refer to them or quote them in text.²²⁷ Music was part of the protest experience, and it affected the way activists felt about their involvement and their fellow participants. This chapter discusses these experiences and effects.

During protest events activists’ motivation relies on the emotional and social rewards gained from participation. James Jasper describes the sources of motivation thus:

*Virtually all the pleasures that humans derive from social life are found in protest movements: a sense of community and identity; ongoing companionship and bonds with others; the variety and challenge of conversation, cooperation, and competition. Some of the pleasures are not available in the routines of daily life: the euphoria of crowds, a sense of pushing history forward with one's projects, or simply of making the evening news, of working together with others, of sharing a sense of purpose. And, perhaps most of all, the declaration of moral principles.*²²⁸

It has also been argued that the richness of movement culture correlates with the intensity of these pleasures.²²⁹ In the British nuclear disarmament movement, music was an integral part of the movement culture, and its contribution to the “pleasures of protest” during protest events was comprehensive. Activists recalled how music helped them maintain their spirit, how music created a sense of community and solidarity and how the songs spread the messages of the movement. The structure of this chapter follows this categorisation.

²²⁶ UG: PSC, PSC/1/4, *Sing* 5, No. 3, June 1960, 60.

²²⁷ See e.g. Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland: singing into protest”; Charlton, *Don't you hear the H-Bomb's thunder?*; Jamison, “Will They Blow Us A’ Tae Hell?”.

²²⁸ Jasper, *Art of Moral Protest*, 220.

²²⁹ Goodwin et al, “Why Emotions Matter,” 18.

3.1. “We Shall Not Be Moved”: Maintaining Morale in Protest Events

*My feet are sore and blistered, we shall not be moved!*²³⁰

Sanity Songsheet for Aldermaston, 1963

*But if the fun was there, it was there to give confidence and create élan, and, by heavens, we needed it as the Clyde estuary grew into the most horrifying nuclear base in Western Europe.*²³¹

Janey and Norman Buchan, 1983

The sources typically linked music to maintaining morale in protest events.²³² Sustaining morale – or spirit – of activists as a function of music was not unique to the British nuclear disarmament movement.²³³ However, the frequency of such references emphasises the important role music played in keeping the activists motivated and the movement sustained in the face of hardship. ‘Morale’, “the confidence, enthusiasm, and discipline of a person or group at a particular time”²³⁴, is often conceptualised as a military issue. It is, however, a pertinent challenge also for peace and other social movements with a scarcity of material rewards for activists, opposing or hostile reactions to their work and often frequently changing groups of participants. In addition to the general threats to morale in peace activism²³⁵ some aspects of the culture and practices of the nuclear disarmament movement made maintaining morale critical. Firstly, the negative images of the movement and of activists and the intensive debates over them may have discouraged protesters. Secondly, the methods and forms of protest – demonstrations and civil disobedience – required the public display of commitment to the cause. As Alan Brien concluded in a *Daily Mail* article on the first Aldermaston march: “The marchers were mainly middle-class and professional people. - - They were behaving entirely against the normal tradition of their class, their neighbourhood, and their upbringing...The quiet suburbanites were on the march.”²³⁶ Going against the conventions of the society and the class would have been an intimidating choice for many. Thirdly, the marches and sit-downs included elements challenging the morale of participants.

One of the reasons why singing became “such a feature”²³⁷ on the Aldermaston marches and in many other anti-nuclear demonstrations were the physical and emotional hardships experienced during

²³⁰ “We Shall Not Be Moved” in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Sanity Songsheet for Aldermaston, dated 1963.

²³¹ Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland,” 54.

²³² See e.g. Marion Blythman and Jimmy Ross interview by author, 19 February 2015; Andrew Papworth and Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015; LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, “Aldermaston 1960”, dated 20 April 1960.

²³³ Rosenthal–Flacks, *Playing for Change*, 129.

²³⁴ “Morale” in *The Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²³⁵ See e.g. Schwebel, “Peace Activists”.

²³⁶ Alan Brien, quoted in Driver, *The Disarmers*, 55.

²³⁷ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Bulletin*, August 1959.

these events. Many of the marches lasted days: the Aldermaston march began on Good Friday and those who decided to participate throughout the journey had to walk until Monday. The marches between England and Scotland lasted even longer.²³⁸ Sore feet, blisters and fatigue were common. Even when the distance covered was not particularly demanding, there were other challenges. The weather in England and Scotland was not always favourable, and activists had to sometimes spend hours in rain or snow. Moreover, demonstrating would often become tedious. “There's nothing more boring than standing protesting outside a place when there's nothing happening. They were dull and this [music] would cheer them all up,” Marion Blythmann explained when asked about the importance of songs.²³⁹ Peter Cadogan also noted how walking for hours or days in silence could feel meaningless.²⁴⁰

Sometimes bad weather managed to keep activists away. One such occasion is described in “Ye Cannae Ban Polaris When It’s Raining” by Adam McNaughtan:

*There were only forty folk sat on the pier at Ardnadam
The others wouldnae trust their bums to that damn tarmacadam
There'll be nae sit-doon dramatics if it's bad for your rheumatics
No ye cannae ban Polaris when it's rainin'*²⁴¹

Nevertheless, mostly the sources referred to participation in protest events despite the weather conditions and other hardships. On the Aldermaston marches jazz, more than other genres, was associated with keeping up the spirit, but marching songs were also mentioned as sources of strength.²⁴² In Glasgow, Jimmy Ross mentioned the importance of music for morale, and Marion Blythmann elaborated, describing how singing sustained the protest both during long walks and in places like the Holy Loch “when it was cold, wet and raining”.²⁴³ Music could help the tired marchers focus on something else and ignore the negative aspects of the experience.

Although the British nuclear disarmament movement in its early phase was not particularly high-risk in comparison to its contemporaries such as the civil rights protests in the United States, fear and frustration were prominent threats to the morale in protest events. Apart from the knowledge that large parts of the population disagreed with them, the activists would sometimes face the possibility of arrests and even violence from opponents. Those participating in civil disobedience were briefed on how to

²³⁸ See the map on Aldermaston and anti-Polaris marches in appendix II on p. iii.

²³⁹ Marion Blythmann, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

²⁴⁰ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, 15 December 1961.

²⁴¹ Adam McNaughtan, “Ye Cannae Ban Polaris When It’s Raining” in “Henry’s Songbook.” Available from <http://mysongbook.de/msb/songs/xyz/yecannae.html> (accessed 1 September 2015).

²⁴² See e.g. Leon Rosselson and Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015; LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, W.L. Prentice, Aldermaston 1960, dated 20 April 1960; LSE: CND, CND/2008/17/1, Roger Gray, Aldermaston to London, account of the 1963 march; Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 47; Driver, *The Disarmers*, 56–57; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Outline Plan for Aldermastonmusic, dated 1963; LSE: CND, CND/4/3, Advice to Marchers, Easter, dated 1963.

²⁴³ Marion Blythmann and Jimmy Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

react to police presence and to aggression.²⁴⁴ Peggy Duff wrote about the attacks against marchers during the Aldermaston marches: attackers would destroy tents of the marchers, and activists would have to patrol the areas to protect the accommodation and the participants.²⁴⁵ With such instructions and experiences activists needed to maintain their courage. Support from other activists was crucial, and singing together helped as well. It strengthened the feeling of solidarity between the activists and reinforced the experience of not being alone.²⁴⁶

Furthermore, courage was needed to transform fear into action against nuclear weapons. The effects of fallout from nuclear weapons tests and the threat of a nuclear attack amplified by the presence of British and American nuclear weapons alarmed individuals to action. Fear had to be managed to avoid paralysing people. If the threat seems too powerful and imminent, there is little incentive to oppose it. Social movements tend to work to transform fear into emotions more conducive to mobilisation – for example anger can become a powerful motivator for political engagement if individuals are given tools to work for a solution to the given threat.²⁴⁷ That is why warnings about nuclear war and fallout were often coupled with empowering messages: the keys to a safer world were in the hands of the people. “The H-Bomb’s Thunder” made this point explicitly:

Shall we lay the world in ruin?

Only you can make the choice.

Stop and think of what you’re doing.

*Join the march and raise your voice.*²⁴⁸

The encouraging and empowering functions of music were noted by some of the English sources.²⁴⁹ Norman and Janey Buchan highlighted the importance of managing fear in the Scottish context, in the

²⁴⁴ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Committee of 100, Mass Resistance, Wethersfield–Ruislip, 9 December 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Committee of 100, Advice to All Demonstrators, Demonstration at the Ministry of Defence, 18 February 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Committee of 100, Parliament Square Assembly, 29 April 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Committee of 100, Demonstration at the Ministry of Defence, Legal Briefing for All Demonstrators, 18 February 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/4/3, Committee of 100, Parliament Sq. Assembly, General and Legal Briefing, dated 24 March 1962.

²⁴⁵ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 140.

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015. The use of music for overcoming fear is particularly well researched in the context of the US civil rights movement. See e.g. Jeff Goodwin and Steven Pfaff, “Emotion Work in High-Risk Social Movements: Managing Fear in the U.S. and East German Civil Rights Movements,” in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001); T. V. Reed, *Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Baruch Whitehead, “We Shall Overcome: The Roles of Music in the US Civil Rights Movement,” in *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, ed. Olivier Urbain (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

²⁴⁷ James M. Jasper, *Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 220, 226; Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta, “Why Emotions Matter,” in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, eds. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 17–19.

²⁴⁸ “The H-Bomb’s Thunder” in CND: LSE, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for Aldermaston, enlarged edition (The Broadsheet King, probably 1961), 11.

²⁴⁹ See e.g. “Introduction” in *Songs of Hope and Survival. A Collection of Trade Union, C.N.D., Traditional Labour and Progressive Songs*; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

presence of what they called “the most horrifying nuclear base in Western Europe.”²⁵⁰ *The Ding Dong Dollar* liner notes described how music helped to unify the varied body of protesters and “gave [it] heart, voice and laughter”.²⁵¹

Apart from faith in one’s capacity to influence decision-making, exposing the irrationality of nuclear logic was an important strategy for countering fear and unifying the activists. As suggested in the quotes above, particularly in Glasgow music was also used to ridicule politicians and their arguments and to show to listeners that it was not only possible but also wise and fun to oppose them. The presence of the Polaris missiles in Holy Loch made the danger seem even more immediate for Scottish activists, and for example Janey and Norman Buchan saw this as one reason for the humour of the anti-Polaris songs.²⁵² The anti-Polaris songs criticised for example those who welcomed the Polaris base because of the economic benefits it would bring to Dunoon. “The Council o Dunoon, they want their hauf-a-croon”, the singers remarked in “We Dinna Want Polaris”, and in “Ding Dong Dollar” they noted: “Ye cannae spend a dollar when ye’re deid.”²⁵³ Economic profits were juxtaposed with life, a comparison emphasised by the reduction of the debate on employment and income to “hauf-a-croon” or a dollar.

Using humour to counter fear and to demystify seemingly incomprehensible concepts and omniscient opponents was not only a Scottish phenomenon. In England for instance Leon Rosselson and Alex Comfort used satire in their songs.²⁵⁴ For example “Stand Firm” by Leon Rosselson ridicules the government’s civil defence instructions:

A slit trench will protect you from the fallout and the blast, stand firm!
And don’t emerge from hiding while the radiation lasts, stand firm!
To prove to the aggressor that free men will be free,
Crouch down in your hidey-holes, make lots of pots of tea,
(If you’re caught out in the open, duck behind a tree).
*Stand firm!*²⁵⁵

As mentioned earlier, some of the activists were breaking the boundaries of socially acceptable behaviour by participating in the nuclear disarmament movement. It is possible that the songs sung in the protest events may have re-enforced their beliefs in the justness of the cause. The “hymn-like” songs with less radical lyrics – for example “The Crow in the Cradle” or “The H-Bomb’s Thunder” – connected the protest to middle class political traditions, thereby making them seem less alien or radical. They helped

²⁵⁰ Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland,” 54.

²⁵¹ Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 3.

²⁵² Buchan–Buchan, *The Campaign in Scotland*, 54.

²⁵³ “We Dinna Want Polaris” and “Ding Dong Dollar” in Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, Glasgow Song Guild, Folkways Records FD 5444, 1962, LP, 3.

²⁵⁴ For examples of Alex Comfort’s songs see LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably? Alex Comfort song book*.

²⁵⁵ Leon Rosselson, “Stand Firm” in *Bringing the News from Nowhere* (London: Fuse Records, 1992), 80–81.

to build a respectable image of the movement which even the more moderate and cautious participants could identify with. Such an image, however, was different from the popular perception of the Aldermaston marches and other anti-nuclear protest events as “festivals” or “carnivals”. While some protesters preferred to see themselves as part of a traditional middle-class movement, others cherished the new cheerful and culturally directed image.

One deterrent to the crumpling of morale was the creation and strengthening of a sense of commitment to the movement and a feeling of connectedness to the other participants. The lyrics of “We Shall Not Be Moved” are telling: “My feet are sore and blistered, *we* shall not be moved!”²⁵⁶ In the phrase the singer transcends her or his negative personal experiences to collective commitment. T.V. Reed points to the same method in the US Civil Rights Movements songs: “I am not afraid... *We* shall overcome.”²⁵⁷ Some of the similarity should be attributed to the fact that “We Shall Not Be Moved” is also originally an American song, but this does not diminish the lyrics’ potential effects on English or Scottish activists. In fact, Anthony Eames has argued that African-American tonal models were used in British anti-nuclear songs purposefully to capitalise on the experiences of oppression in the US context.²⁵⁸ While this interpretation is somewhat too simplified – for reasons discussed in the last section of this chapter – the tonal connection with the civil rights movement scarcely weakened the power of the songs.

The singing of movement songs, the creation of a musicking nuclear disarmament movement with a characteristically festive mood, could boost the morale of the protesters and helped to carry on the identification with the movement event outside protest events. When the organisers were preparing a march in 1964, after the original Aldermaston marches had been discontinued, they distributed a questions and answers document explaining the reasons for not having an Aldermaston march and outlining the nature and purpose of the event. One of the questions was “Will the march have a festival atmosphere, or will it be a pilgrimage?” The answer reflected the attitudes of many from 1958 onwards: “Like the Aldermaston marches, it will be both. The two concepts are not inconsistent. Ours is a campaign FOR LIFE, and this will be a MARCH FOR LIFE. So we shall show that we enjoy life, and want to go on enjoying it. We shall have our music and our songs.”²⁵⁹ For some, participating in for instance the Aldermaston marches could be akin to a generational experience. Analyses of Christopher Driver and Jeff Nuttall were typical:

Aldermaston had started something new, and the sixteens to twenty-threes, the generation whom the advertisers categorise as the teenage market, took to it like the children of Hamelin to the music of the Pied Piper. The appeal was on several levels. There were the guitars and the singing, the fleeting glimpses of cultural heroes, the general air of

²⁵⁶ “We Shall Not Be Moved” in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Sanity Songsheet for Aldermaston, dated 1963, emphasis by author.

²⁵⁷ Reed, *Art of Protest*, 32.

²⁵⁸ Eames, “The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music,” 12.

²⁵⁹ LSE: CND, CND/4/4, Questions and Answers on March on London, dated 1964.

not-too-tightly organised jamboree in which a boy and a girl could slip off of an evening to fry sausages on sticks beside the Thames. - - The generation of Aldermaston is an emancipated one, and where its parents have not consented to emancipation it has emancipated itself, using the money its predecessors never had to buy travel, jazz, and long conversations in coffee bars. Aldermaston made a refreshing change from Easter with the family in Southend.²⁶⁰

[A]lthough teenagers made up by no means the bulk of the marchers, as the square press consistently claimed they did, they nevertheless made each march into a carnival of optimism - - It was this wild public festival spirit that spread the CND symbol through all the jazz clubs and secondary schools in an incredibly short time. Protest was associated with festivity.²⁶¹

Marching could have been tiring and cold and one's relatives or the public opinion could have ridiculed the marchers, but at least the activists were with their friends, feeling that they were doing something meaningful and enjoyable. The experience of being part of something larger and starting something novel made the negative aspects bearable.

3.2. "Into a united body with a common aim": Creating a Sense of Community

The Eskimo songs made us feel more unified. That's the purpose they serve, and the context. - - 'We Shall Overcome' - we owned those songs because we all sang them together. - - The songs led me to the people.²⁶²

Eric Bogle, 2010

The people who sang these songs got quite close to one another.²⁶³

Marion Blythmann, 2015

Music in protest events was a tool for creating solidarity with other protesters. As exemplified by the quote from Eric Bogle, sometimes the creation of a sense of community was seen as the most important function of the music. Bobby Campbell noted in his 1962 article that "[t]he effect of these songs has been quite remarkable in the way they have fused the folk song movement, the Left wing and the non-political anti-Polaris demonstrators into a united body with a common aim".²⁶⁴ Similar attitudes are echoed in the liner notes to *Ding Dong Dollar*. "They kept to the main theme of anti-Polaris, uniting and binding the many disparate organisations into one body. And to this body they gave heart, voice and laughter."²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 59.

²⁶¹ Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, 47.

²⁶² Eric Bogle, quoted in Ewan McVicar, *The Eskimo Republic. Scots Political Song in Action 1951–1999* (Linlithgow: Gallus Publishing, 2010), 258.

²⁶³ Marion Blythmann, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

²⁶⁴ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/8, Bobby Campbell, "Songs with Teeth," *International Socialism* 10, Autumn 1962, 15.

²⁶⁵ Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2.

The connection between songs and a sense of community were also strongly expressed in English sources. The bonding processes within the movement created a sense of community on different levels, and musicking helped to solidify minority groups. In effect, musicking created and expressed both unity and dissent in the nuclear disarmament movement.

The first step to building a community is bringing people together, in the case of protest events physically. While the cause provided the strongest motivation to participate, music was an added bonus.²⁶⁶ There were also cases of politicisation through music although such accounts were rare.²⁶⁷ Protesting with other activists formed the basis for a shared experience which could be reinforced by music. The soundscape of protest was an important part of the memory of the events, even more so when one was actively participating in its creation. Songs performed in the protest events could bring forth vivid memories in-between the events or even long afterwards. Moreover, songs and the narratives of them being sung in certain protest events could become part of trained memories of protest.²⁶⁸ Already on the earliest protest events during the period studied musicking seems to have become a part of the rituals of protesting, and the ritual was often recreated in-between the events.²⁶⁹ This allowed activists to continue the community and to perform their protest in times of low activity.

The shared experiences were reinforced by music partly because music made protest events more enjoyable. As has been discussed in the previous section, music helped activists to overcome boredom and physical difficulties during protest events. Moreover, a shared memory of overcoming difficulties can be an effective source of a sense of community.²⁷⁰ Indeed, in the British nuclear disarmament movement the narrative of singing away the tiredness and cold seems to have become a cherished memory.

The act of protesting together can be a powerful method of bonding in itself, but when reinforced with joint musicking the effect can be felt more deeply and made more long-lasting.²⁷¹ Such experiences of togetherness were experienced in the British nuclear disarmament movement. In marching together activists could feel the existence of a community, and use music to experience it. One activist recalled for instance “the fun of trying to make [songs and slogans] catch on all up and down the column”²⁷². The

²⁶⁶ George McKay, “Just a closer walk with thee,” 273.

²⁶⁷ Charlton, *Don't you hear the H-Bomb's thunder?*, 176–178.

²⁶⁸ Eyerman–Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 28–30; Rosenthal–Flacks, *Playing for Change*, 126; Reed, *Art of Protest*, 35; Elizabeth Kaminski and Verta Taylor, “‘We’re Not Just Lip-synching Up Here’: Music and Collective Identity in Drag Performances,” in *Identity Work in Social Movements*, eds. Rachel L. Einwohner, Jo Reger, and Daniel J. Myers (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 70.

²⁶⁹ For instances in the various singsongs and other social gatherings discussed in the first chapter.

²⁷⁰ Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 226.

²⁷¹ William McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time. Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); James M. Jasper, *Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 184; Jeffrey S. Juris, “Embodying Protest: Culture and Performance within Social Movements,” in *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research*, ed. Britta Baumgarten, Daphi Priska and Peter Ullrich (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 240–241.

²⁷² Driver, *The Disarmers*, 57.

music marshals would sometimes try similar tactics, turning “the march” itself into an instrument, making the activists sing certain songs.²⁷³ In these example music reflects, expresses, identifies, unifies and strengthens the community. It may even create it by unifying different voices into one, shared song. The community could also be experienced without sound, sustained by the rhythm of marching and/or the dynamics of silence.²⁷⁴ This, however, was more difficult to control especially in mass events and over longer periods. And broken silence creates chaotic rather than communal or harmonious sounds.²⁷⁵

Singing could also be used to express defiance and alleviate fear during arrests or in jail.²⁷⁶ There are only a few references to this in the sources, though, so it is not possible to conclude whether this was an exception or a common practice. A famous and well-documented example of such a practice are the imprisoned civil rights activists in the US who would communicate through freedom songs during their sentence. This, in turn, heightened the importance of these songs for the movement even more.²⁷⁷ It would be interesting to know if a similar process took place in some parts of the NDM but with current data it is impossible.

In London, Bill Hetherington recalled a sit-down in Greenham in 1962, scheduled to last until noon. The police arrived and began to arrest the activists, endangering the plan. As a response, the activists stood up – only those sitting-down would be arrested – and started walking in a circle and singing. One at a time they would sit-down and be arrested but the tactic allowed the group to continue until noon. Singing here helped keep up the mood and counter the boredom, tiredness and fear of the certain arrest. As the group was getting smaller, the importance of the music grew: the community remained in the sung, jointly begun protest performance.²⁷⁸ In such situations music became both a symbol and an act as well as a sustainer of defiance. It also allowed the arrested to feel part of the movement rather than individuals powerless against the system. When singing alone, the song functioned as the link – conveying the movement and giving courage – and when singing with others the defiance was communally produced. Individual acts melded into a broader performance.

The existence of movement songs in general and the emergence of anthem songs in particular contributed to the creation of a sense of community. As has been discussed, music and remembering were connected. Certain songs, when heard, would trigger memories of participation in protest events and thus sustain the sense of belonging in the movement. Some songs became particularly potent in this

²⁷³ Karl Dallas, quoted in Colin Irwin, “Power to the People,” in *The Guardian*, 10 August 2008.

²⁷⁴ LSE: CND, CND/2008/8/3/1, Aldermaston 1960, dated 20 April 1960; LSE: CND, CND/2008/17/1, Aldermaston to London, 1963.

²⁷⁵ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

²⁷⁶ Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015; Marion Blythmann, interview by author, 19 February 2015; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/4, Bulletin No. 12, dated 15 September 1963.

²⁷⁷ See e.g. Whitehead, “We Shall Overcome,” 85.

²⁷⁸ Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

capacity – the anthems or theme songs. Already on the first Aldermaston march, “The H-Bomb’s Thunder” came to symbolise the movement and known as “the national anthem of the CND”.²⁷⁹ Ian Campbell described how “The H-Bombs’ Thunder” was experienced by protesters:

*As anthems necessarily are this is a simple straightforward song: sometimes Campaigners tend to sing it, like Labour parliamentarians singing ‘The Red Flag’, with an air of slight embarrassment. It would be difficult, however, to overestimate its value to CND during the Sixties, particularly on the big demos. It was uniquely effective in generating a proud sense of unity and identity among the demonstrators - -*²⁸⁰

The theme song of the Glaswegian anti-Polaris protests was “Ding Dong Dollar”.²⁸¹ Other groups – whether organisational, local, determined by age or occupation – had anthems dedicated to them and songs which came to be strongly associated with them. The Youth CND received its own anthem, “Song of the YCND”.²⁸² “Ban the Bloody H-Bomb” was also known as “the student song”.²⁸³ The “sit-downers”, whether in England or in Scotland, had their songs. The Alex Comfort songbook *Are You Sitting Comfortably?* was dedicated to the Committee of 100 and at least once “We Shall Not Be Moved” was introduced as “the ‘Hymn of the Committee of 100’”.²⁸⁴ The *Ding Dong Dollar* liner notes refer to “I Shall Not Be Moved” as the “[t]heme song of the sit-downers”.²⁸⁵ The titles of these two songs hint to their appropriateness in a sit-down. It is also likely that the inspiration to use this song for the same purpose in Scotland and in England travelled across Britain – based on the dates of publications probably from Scotland to England but the sources provide no certain answers to the question.

In *Left, Left, Left* Peggy Duff exemplified the power of singing a theme song as a protest performance and as a symbol of unity. She described a Labour conference where the delegates were voting on unilateralism.

*We took over the town that day and in the afternoon we marched solid and miles long through the town, down along the front and then up past the hotel where the NEC [National Executive Committee of the Labour Party] was meeting, singing lustily ‘Ban the Bomb for Evermore’ [The H-Bomb’s Thunder]. And that year, the [Aldermaston] march was full of Labour Party and TU banners.*²⁸⁶

In the end, the conference voted for unilateralism. “We were in the bar - - Joyously we sang ‘Ban the Bomb for Evermore’. It was a great occasion. Never had there been a victory like that.”²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ Brunner, “Music on the March,” 47; UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, Songs of Hope and Survival.

²⁸⁰ Ian Campbell, *Music Against the Bomb*, 116.

²⁸¹ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2; LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/8, Bobby Campbell, “Songs with Teeth,” *International Socialism* 10, Autumn 1962; Marion Blythman, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015.

²⁸² LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Sanity songsheet for Aldermaston, dated 1963.

²⁸³ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably? Alex Comfort song book*.

²⁸⁴ Ibid; UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, Songs of Hope and Survival.

²⁸⁵ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP, 2.

²⁸⁶ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 189.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 190.

The power of anthems lies not only in the fact that they would be sung often in protest events. When a song became an anthem it became also an identifier and, much like carrying the famous ND symbol, singing the songs became a way to align oneself with the movement or group, to perform one's membership in or affiliation with it.²⁸⁸ The lyrics of the songs outlined key concerns and messages of the groups as well as their approach to protest. "The H-Bombs' Thunder" focuses on the responsibilities of citizens: "Shall we leave the world in ruins?/Only you can make the choice." "We Shall Not Be Moved" and "I Shall Not Be Moved", on the other hand, are expressions of defiance, resolution and communal commitment. "Ding Dong Dollar" is a humorous argument revealing the insanity of trading security for jobs, while "Ban the Bloody H-Bomb" expresses frustration at conventional, slow politics. Whereas "The H-Bombs' Thunder" relies on a perception of common humanist values and the power of argumentation, most of the other theme songs also pinpoint opponents and lay blame for the situation. Furthermore, theme songs were referenced in non-musical communications of the movement. There was for example of "We Shall Not Be Moved rally", and one of the anti-Polaris demonstrations in London was advertised with the slogan "Ye canny spend a dollar when ye're deid".²⁸⁹ The music also found its way to popular culture beyond the movement, as Christopher Driver noted: "These plays are punctuated by snatches from the folksongs of the anti-nuclear revival."²⁹⁰

Music provided a way to connect the English and Scottish protests to a larger international movement. There are a few interesting examples of international connections in the sources. Musicians Fred and Betty Dallas participated in West German Easter marches in 1961 and 1962, and they reported their experiences in a *Sing* magazine.

*When we toured West Germany in March 1961, singing the songs of Aldermaston, the idea of using songs at meetings and on marches was something new to them. - - However, having sung our heads off on two of Germany's five Easter marches this year, we can say that the Germans are definitely getting with it. - - they've now got translations of The H-bomb's Thunder and Strontium 90 - - In many ways, they look to Britain for their inspiration - - It was clear that a few copies of Topic's "Songs Against the Bomb" had been circulating - - As in Britain, it looks as if music is helping them to achieve their aims.*²⁹¹

In the autumn of the same year, John MacRae reported on his musical experiences in Moscow during the World Disarmament Congress. His audiences included for example the American delegation ("I launched into a series of anti-polaris songs. To their eternal credit, the Americans soon picked up the choruses and joined in wholeheartedly - -"), listeners of local broadcasts ("Ding Dong Dollar is a very big deal in the

²⁸⁸ Eyerman-Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 35–36; T. V. Reed, *Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 2, 28, 32; Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements. And Introduction* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 97–98.

²⁸⁹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Newsletter, dated 13 May 1961; LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/4, Holy Loch leaflet.

²⁹⁰ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 224.

²⁹¹ Fred and Betty Dallas, "The Aldermaston muse is abroad" in UG: PSC, PSC/1/4, *Sing* 6, No. 10, June 1962, 104.

U.S.S.R.”) and Yuri Gagarin, a guest of honour at the meeting of the British and the Soviet delegations. The chosen song was “Oh dear Yuri Gagarin” and MacRae enthusiastically told how well the song was received by both Gagarin and the Soviet public.²⁹² In Glasgow, Yuri Gagarin – together with Fidel Castro – was also included in the anti-Polaris song “Cheap-Jack the Millionaire”.²⁹³ Dallas’ and MacRae’s reports fit well in the narratives of British or Scottish nuclear disarmers as forerunners among peace movements. More specifically, they emphasise the importance of musical creativity as an inspiration for their international colleagues.

Inspirations also travelled to Britain. Activists in Britain were interested in learning from their colleagues abroad as illustrated by an initiative to create an international anti-war songbook.²⁹⁴ Among the songs sung already on the first Aldermaston march was the “Song of Hiroshima”, written and composed by the Japanese Koki Kinoshita and translated in English by Ewan MacColl.²⁹⁵ Hiroshima and Nagasaki became powerful symbols in the movement, and the cities and the imagery of nuclear destruction from the stories of Japanese survivors were written into countless songs.²⁹⁶ The majority of musical loans came from the United States. In particular English and Scottish activists borrowed tunes from American songs.²⁹⁷ Aldermaston marches also included an international section, and it is likely that reciprocal transmission of music took place between British and foreign marchers. While the overwhelming majority of mentions to music refers to white British musicians, there were a few exceptions. Roger Gray wrote about a Buddhist priest playing a drum and chanting, and *March to Aldermaston* shows a calypso band playing during the march and in the rally on Trafalgar Square.²⁹⁸

Music therefore provided spaces and tools for bonding and creating solidarities. The sense of community and the experience of groupness could be felt on different levels. Activists could feel they belonged to a national, even international movement when they sang together about shared humanity and the shared task of nuclear disarmament. They could, however, also express the distinct characteristics and approaches of their sub-groups by singing group anthems. In mass demonstrations, for example on the Aldermaston marches, one could hear various songs, some highlighting unifying themes, others expressing conflicting attitudes. Activists could celebrate such diversity or worry over the movement image – what if the message did not come through clear enough in the moderate songs; what if the more aggressive lyrics repelled the onlookers and turned away potential converts?

²⁹² John MacRae, “An Eskimo in Moscow” in *Scottish Folknotes* 1, No. 1, Autumn 1962, 11–12.

²⁹³ US: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Ding Dong Dollar*, various editions, 1961–1962.

²⁹⁴ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/4, Request by Hazel Slatter, Committee of 100 National Bulletin No. 11, dated 1 September 1963.

²⁹⁵ See e.g. LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, Songs for the Aldermaston March, 1958.

²⁹⁶ See e.g. John Brunner, “Easter Marchers” in UG/PSC, PSC/1/4, Sing 5, No. 4, August 1961, 68; “I Shall Not Be Moved” in liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP, 3; Fred Dallas, “Doomsday Blues”, *March to Aldermaston*.

²⁹⁷ I will discuss the Anglo-American connection more in the next section when dealing with music as message.

²⁹⁸ LSE: CND, CND/2007/17/1, Roger Gray, “Aldermaston to London”, dated 1963; *March to Aldermaston*.

Music provided support for sub-groups within the movement, sometimes undermining the unity of the broader movement. An illuminating example is the Spies for Peace campaign of Aldermaston 1963. During the last day of the march a group calling itself Spies for Peace tried to redirect the march to R.S.G.6, a “Regional Seat of Government” where key administrators and leaders would be sent for protection during a nuclear attack. The R.S.G.s were considered a state secret so sharing information about them was a felony. While most of the marchers decided to follow the CND organisers down the original route, approximately a tenth chose to go to the R.S.G.6. Many of these activists were singing the “R.S.G.6 Song”. The police arrested anyone giving out leaflets of the R.S.G., and some were sent to jail for “singing the secret”.²⁹⁹ Singing the song was therefore not only fun and motivating but also marked out (at least in the eyes of some policemen) the supporters of the Spies. Furthermore, singing itself was perceived as an act of civil disobedience.

The R.S.G. songs reflects the guerrilla-like self-image of the Spies for Peace as an impromptu, do-it-yourself group for a single purpose. The R.S.G. songsheet included the following disclaimers: “Duplicated in a hurry by the Broadsheet King, 14th April, 1963 Ban the Bomb!” and “A new song by Kevin McGrath - - The words have been slightly adapted, and I regret that there was no time to ask permission.”³⁰⁰ The R.S.G. Song was meant to raise awareness and to express defiance to the state:

*I've got a secret, a nice official secret
And I've published it for all the world to see
Now this nice little secret
is not a little secret -
And M.I.5 are after me!*³⁰¹

The event inspired the creation of a number of other songs which shared the defiance, for example: “God save our RSG,/No room for you or me,/Where will we be?/Out in the Wilderness,/Our Queen could not care less,/Our country's in a bloody mess!/God Save our RSG!”³⁰²

The anarchists also occasionally employed sound to express dissent and, in the process, to self-identify as different from the other protesters.³⁰³ More commonly different sub-groups expressed themselves in slogan and in song. In the next section I will analyse the songs as conveyors of the movement's messages. How did the activists and musicians see the power of songs in communication and what were the main themes and messages in the music?

²⁹⁹ Driver, *The Disarmers*, 150–151; *Daily Mail* (16 April 1963) quoted in *Resistance Shall Grow*, pamphlet by the Independent Labour Party. Available from <http://libcom.org/library/resistance-shall-grow-1963> (accessed 2 November 2015).

³⁰⁰ LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, R.S.G. songsheet, dated 14 April 1963.

³⁰¹ Ibid; see also additional or alternative lyrics in Charlton, *Don't You Hear the H-Bomb's Thunder?*, 85 and in Tony Papard, *The Aldermaston Songbook*.

³⁰² Charlton, *Don't You Hear the H-Bomb's Thunder?*, 85; Tony Papard, *The Aldermaston Songbook*.

³⁰³ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 215.

3.3. “Saying things they were believing in”: Messages in Music

*The slogan-aspect of it was important. Because it was saying things they were believing in.*³⁰⁴

Marion Blythmann, 2015

*Going to performances of something like Britten's "War Requiem" was the sort of thing which was a very very powerful confirmational and political experience for me. - - It's hard to say something like that causes a particular political perspective but it's reinforcing. - - You need to kind of gravitate towards things which make you feel you're not completely crazy. - - That was the kind of role that something like that within the classical music genre but also, you know, getting stoned to Bob Dylan - - Both of those - - on different intellectual levels were things that reinforced my ability to crystallise the politics I had.*³⁰⁵

Albert Beale, 2015

Songs of the nuclear disarmament movement were mainly intended for the ears of the activists although the onlookers and opponents could certainly use them to gain insight into the goals and morals of the movement. “Preaching to the converted” required communicating the core messages: defining the problem, the goal, the steps to take for a better world as well as the preferred methods of action. Furthermore, the music reflected and contributed to the style of the movement and included messages reaffirming the activist community. As Leon Rosselson noted, “[s]olidarity songs are not intended for ears others than those who are involved in the protest, really, that’s what they’re for. So they wouldn’t translate to them. It wouldn’t communicate to others”.³⁰⁶ In other words, many of the movement songs were created to motivate the protesters and to forge a sense of solidarity through the repetition of clear slogans, often set to rhythmic, emphatic tunes.

The topics of the songs varied from personal stories to pacifist utopias, but the key theme, nuclear weapons, was usually present. The problem was framed similarly to broader movement rhetoric: nuclear pollution and war were perceived to be key components to the threat.³⁰⁷ Some songs went further, referring to the insanity of a nuclear arms race and to the need for a more constructive international order³⁰⁸. The elaboration of the problem was often coupled with a vision for a better world. Several discourses can be identified. Firstly, some lyrics simply wished for a world without nuclear weapons

³⁰⁴ Marion Blythmann, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

³⁰⁵ Albert Beale, interview by author, 28 February 2015.

³⁰⁶ Leon Rosselson, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

³⁰⁷ See e.g. Fred Dallas, “Strontium 90” and “Doomsday Blues” in *Songs Against the Bomb*, LP; “Ban Polaris – Hallelujah” in UG: PSC, PSC/1/3, *Ding Dong Dollar*, all editions, 1962–1963.

³⁰⁸ See e.g. John Brunner, “The H-Bomb’s Thunder” and Ed McCurdy, “The Strangest Dream” in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Songs from Aldermaston* (London: The Broadsheet King, probably 1961).

where the shadow of fallout and nuclear war did not threaten the lives of children.³⁰⁹ Others yearned for global peace and a world where humanity could solve their disputes through peaceful means.³¹⁰

A Glaswegian vision for the future was captured in the song “The Eskimo Republic”: “O the Eskimo is a man o peace/He's never jyned the arms race/An ye'll find nae trace o a Polaris base/In the Eskimo Republic”³¹¹ The preference was for an independent republic following politics of peace. Hamish Henderson’s “The Freedom Come-All-Ye” illustrates the enmeshing of peace and nationalism in Scottish folk further. The song comments the ongoing decolonisation and views it as part of the creation of a better world. No more would Scottish men travel to distant parts of the British Empire to oppress others. The lyrics paint of world free not only of imperial oppression but also of racial prejudice and militarism. While some anti-nuclear songs portrayed the Scottish people as more militant,³¹² “The Freedom Come-All-Ye” portrays a free Scotland as an anti-militarist society.

*Nae mair will the bonnie gallants
March tae war, when oor braggarts crouselly craw,
Nor wee weans frae pit-beid an clachan
Mourn the ships sailin doon the Broomielaw;
Broken faimlies, in lands we herriet
Will curse Scotland the Brave nae mair, nae mair;
Black an white, ane til ither mairriet
Make the vile barracks o their maisters bare.*³¹³

Meanwhile, English activists could protest about different problems undermining democracy and making the British participation in the nuclear arms race possible: “The future of the human race/Must never again depend/On politics and business men./Protest! Your lives defend.”³¹⁴ The critique of especially the more radical English anti-nuclear activists was aimed particularly at political elites.

³⁰⁹ See e.g. Sydney Carter, “The Crow on the Cradle” in *Songs from Aldermaston*, EP.

³¹⁰ See e.g. Ed McCurdy, “The Strangest Dream” in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Songs from Aldermaston* (London: The Broadsheet King, probably 1961).

³¹¹ “The Eskimo Republic”, quoted in McVicar, *The Eskimo Republic*, 105.

³¹² See e.g. “The Glesca Eskimos”: “We’ll gadd that nyaff ca’d Lanin,/We’ll spear him whaur he blows.” in liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP.

³¹³ *Ding Dong Dollar*, liner notes, 7. Interpretation in English by Dick Gaughan:

“No more will our fine young men
March to war at the behest of jingoists and imperialists
Nor will young children from mining communities and rural hamlets
Mourn the ships sailing off down the River Clyde
Broken families in lands we've helped to oppress
will never again have reason to curse the sound of advancing Scots
Black and white, united in friendship and marriage,
Will result in the military garrisons being abandoned and empty”

Dick Gaughan, available from <http://www.dickgaughan.co.uk/songs/texts/freecaye.html> (accessed 30 June 2016).

³¹⁴ Ed McCurdy, “Strangest Dream” in International Institute of Social History: Dora Winifred Russell Papers (IISH: DWRP), DWRP/357, Ⓢ Songs, undated; see also e.g. Alec Davidson, “Talking H-Bomb Blues” and Peggy Seeger, “Better Things” in *ibid.*

The songs also instructed people on how to get to the better world envisioned. In general, the message was that everyone was responsible for creating the future – therefore, every individual should take part in the anti-nuclear struggle. This meant joining the movement. In England, many of the songs called for people to join the protest events or to vote for nuclear disarmament.³¹⁵ There were also songs emphasising the value of civil disobedience.³¹⁶ The Glaswegian songs were less direct in their instructions, but the general messages were clear. They encouraged opposition to the Polaris submarines and the American military base. Moreover, the feats of anti-nuclear protesters were celebrated, calling for people to join the protests.³¹⁷

In defining the problem, in drafting visions of a better world and in outlining steps toward them, the songs of the nuclear disarmament movement contributed to its images and self-images. The singing of these messages could reinforce the participants' belief in them and strengthen the bonds connecting individual activists. The music also contained straightforward messages of belonging, further supporting the creation of communities.³¹⁸

As social movement researchers have demonstrated, reaffirming that the work of a movement is important is crucial for activists. To remain motivated, activists need the repetition of the core messages of the movement: what are its goals and why they are important.³¹⁹ Music is a powerful tool for this. As is often noted, songs are easier to learn and remember than statements and speeches.³²⁰ Music is also interactive. Particularly when partaking in the singing of movement music, activists are in fact professing their belief in the movement. Even when simply listening, the experience is usually stronger than in case of listening to a speech. Music affects people deeply on many levels – emotionally, physically, intellectually

³¹⁵ See e.g. Fred Dallas, "Strontium 90": "If you're tired of eating atomic dust/Got to stop the tests or the world goes bust./The only party that gets my vote/Says 'BAN THE BOMB' on its election note.", John Brunner, "The H-Bomb's Thunder": "Stop and think of what you're doing./Join the march and raise your voice.", Ewan MacColl and Denise Keir, "Join in the Line": "If you want to keep on breathing, join us in the line./Come and save the world, man, you're only just in time." and Fred Dallas, "Hey Little Man": "Hey little man, you should have been a-marching... on Easter Day!" in IISH: DWRP, DWRP/357, ☐ Songs, undated; "Sit, Brothers, Sit": "Mankind what not die, or we'll know the reason why,/And we'll sit, stand and fight together." in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably? The Alex Comfort song book*, 1961.

³¹⁶ See e.g. "Ballad of a Sit-down" in LSE: CND, CND/2008/7/6/3, *Are You Sitting Comfortably? The Alex Comfort song book*, 1961.

³¹⁷ See e.g. "We Dinna Want Polaris": "Tell the Yanks tae drap them doon the stanks", "Paper Hankies": "Chase the Yankees oot the Clyde/An send them hame tae mammy.", "Anti-Polaris": "Ban the Bomb an biff the Base/till it's sunk without a trace - - It's tae Hell wi Polaris - or/the puir aul human race." and "Ye'll No Sit Here": "Doon at Ardnadam, sittin at the pier,/When ah heard a polis shout - Ye'll no sit here!/Aye, but ah wull sit here!", in liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP.

³¹⁸ See e.g. "The Glesca Eskimos": "We are the Glesca Eskimos!" in liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, LP, 7; Fred Dallas, "The Family of Man": "I belong to a family, the biggest of them all", Glasgow Song Guild, Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, "That Bomb Has Got to Go": "We're marching on Trafalgar Square, Oh Yes, oh!/Today we're marching to declare - That bomb has got to go!" and Alec Davidson, "Talking H-Bomb Blues": "This whole idea it frightens me,/that's why I joined the C.N.D." in IISH: DWRP, DWRP/357, ☐ Songs, undated.

³¹⁹ See e.g. Jasper, *Art of Moral Protest*, 184, 194; Kattau, "The Power of Song," 108; Rosenthal-Flacks, *Playing for Change*, 123-127; Scott A. Hunt and Robert D. Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 445-447.

³²⁰ See e.g. Reed, *Art of Protest*, 28; John Powles, interview by author, 19 February 2015.

– and especially when listening to familiar songs, music tends to bring forth memories connected to them.³²¹ Therefore, as Leon Rosselson noted, solidarity songs are written for the converted; they are meant to strengthen their motivation and sense of solidarity.

The sources repeatedly referred to the differences between the music of England and Scotland.³²² Norman and Janey Buchan provide a typical description:

*We were very early struck by the difference of tone between the London and Clyde marches. And nowhere is this better illustrated than in the songs they sang. At Aldermaston the songs were hymn-like and aspirational. On the Clyde they were popular, based on street songs, cheeky and irreverent and cocking a snook. Incidents rather than abstractions were their inspiration.*³²³

While the Scottish sources generally constructed a dichotomy between “hymn-like” and “irreverent”, the English references were often to the “more humorous” songs of the north. An analysis of songs published in Glasgow and in London confirm the difference to some extent. The Glaswegian lyrics were nearly always purposely hilarious and ridiculing local authorities and decision-makers, while in England, songs more often dealt with hopes for a nuclear-free, peaceful world or with dystopias of nuclear destruction. However, satirical and cheeky songs were not absent from the English anti-nuclear song corpus³²⁴ and Glaswegians also sang more solemn songs, such as “Freedom Come-All-Ye”.

The persistent tendency to separate between the English and the Scottish songs reflects not only the actual differences but also the will to reinforce the different identification of the protesters. The English sources created such dichotomies less often, which is consistent with the self-image of the London-centred groups to view themselves as British and national. The Scottish protesters preferred to see themselves as independent from London.³²⁵ The strong presence of republican and nationalist ideas contributed to the narrative of the unique nature of the Scottish nuclear disarmament movement.

In Glasgow, what was known as the “workshopping” of folk music into protest songs was valued particularly highly, and the musicians involved purposefully sought to draw inspiration from various sources.³²⁶ This symbolised the attempts to reach out to broader audience, “the people” or “the public”. Multiplicity of musical sources was also valued in order to (re)vitalise the folk scene in Glasgow. Four achievements were listed in the Ding Dong Dollar liner notes:

- 1) establishing “a new metropolitan folk-song corpus”;

³²¹ See e.g. Reed, *Art of Protest*, 28; Randall Collins, “Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention,” in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 28–29; Kattau, “Power of Song,” 108.

³²² Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015; Bill Hetherington, interview by author, 27 February 2015; Andrew Papworth, interview by author, 25 February 2015.

³²³ Buchan–Buchan, “The Campaign in Scotland,” 53.

³²⁴ See section 3.1. of this study.

³²⁵ Hill, “Nations of Peace”.

³²⁶ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 2.

- 2) breaking of “the Orange-Fenian monopoly in the rebel songs”;
- 3) emergence of “a rich skalrag and immensely popular Glasgow street song corpus”; and
- 4) development of “a structure of ceilidh, concert, soiree, melee, jazz club, folk club and youth hostel [which] took the message to wider and wider circles of young people”

In the context of a nationalist folk revival the second achievement is particularly interesting. The Anti-Polaris Singers sought to move beyond the existing divisions in political music by incorporating music performed by bitterly, even violently opposed groups. This draws attention to their conceptualisation of community – the attempts to build common ground, to unify different sections of the society around the causes the Anti-Polaris Singers promoted. Christopher Hill has also noted the potential of the anti-nuclear protests to bring together catholics and protestants in Scotland.³²⁷

A remarkable proportion of the tunes of the anti-Polaris songs were either American or had significant cultural meanings in the United States. This opens up an interesting avenue of inquiry for the study of potential impacts of music in protest, particularly in West Scotland where there were American soldiers with their families and where US soldiers were often present during protest events. What messages could songs – intentionally or not – send to their varied audiences, particularly where those audiences held different understandings of the tunes’ importance, meaning and history? Two examples help to illustrate this. “Paper Hankies” uses the tune of “Yankee Doodle” which has both patriotic American and anti-American histories. It was first sung by British soldiers during the American War of Independence to mock American soldiers. Later on, however, the song was claimed by the Americans as an unofficial national anthem.³²⁸ The lyrics of “Paper Hankies” are openly anti-American as exemplified by the chorus:

*Chase the Yankees oot the Clyde,
 Away wi Uncle Sammy;
 Chase the Yankees oot the Clyde
 An send them hame tae mammy.*³²⁹

How would the American soldiers have felt about the song? The combination of a patriotic tune and lyrics mocking American soldiers may have been unsettling. Moreover, the tune had other connotations in Glasgow. This is how the song is introduced in the liner notes to the *Ding Dong Dollar* LP: “Catholicity of tune is one of the hall-marks of Glasgow folk-song (cf. ‘Glesca Eskimos’, ‘Rampant Lion’ etc.) ‘Yankee Doodle’ could not be left out. Style: rebel-direct”³³⁰. “Glesca Eskimos” is set to “Marching through Georgia”, an American Civil War era marching song, and “Rampant Lion” to “Old-Time Religion”, a

³²⁷ Hill, “Nations of Peace,” 41–42.

³²⁸ “Yankee Doodle” in Library of Congress, *Lyrical Legacy*, available from http://www.loc.gov/teachers/lyrical/songs/yankee_doodle.html (accessed 28 March 2016).

³²⁹ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 4.

³³⁰ Ibid, 2.

gospel tune.³³¹ The introduction, then, both roots the song in what is identified as Glaswegian folk song tradition and implies the variety of influences on the anti-Polaris songs.

Another example is the use of the tune “John Brown’s Body” in the song “Ban Polaris – Hallelujah!” “John Brown’s Body” originated as a song about a radical abolitionist in the American Civil War, and the tune had later been used for instance in the “Battle Hymn of the Republic”. It is therefore a song closely linked to military patriotism and to the narratives of the Civil War.³³² The sources offer little information on what the tune may have meant in Scotland or England. This is the *Ding Dong Dollar* introduction: “Ban Polaris – Hallelujah! This is the granite in the Scottish tradition: no quarter for the Quislings. Contrast the mordant humour with its American counterpart. This is not sickness. This is Judgement.”³³³ The lyrics of both “John Brown’s Body” and “Battle Hymn of the Republic” are solemn whereas the Glaswegian lyrics include mocking remarks about the Americans.

*Now we’re sorry fur the Yankees,
they’ve an awfy lot tae thole,
They’re either hauf-vey roon the bend,
or hauf-vey up the pole,
They dither on the Dulles brink
and dae the rock-an-roll,
Send the Yankees hame.*³³⁴

Adapting tunes with potential patriotic meanings for the American soldiers for anti-American lyrics can be seen as a method of musical protest and a form of conflict behaviour. This dimension of musicking was of lesser importance in the south, but in Scotland the presence of US troops in local communities and in places of protest made it relevant. Without additional sources it is difficult to know how the soldiers reacted to the new texts added to familiar songs or if they paid any attention to them. As the lyrics were often in the Glaswegian dialect or in Scots it may have also been difficult for the newly-arrived soldiers to understand them. It is conceivable, however, that the anti-American anti-Polaris songs may have irritated or angered some of the soldiers and amused others.

There is another way to interpret the borrowing of American tunes. Anthony Eames analyses the use of African-American tunes and tonal models in the British anti-nuclear songs: “These hymns were intended to capitalize on themes of oppression experienced in the African-American community and connect them to the United Kingdom’s experience with American atomic imperialism and nuclear

³³¹ PSC/1/3, *Ding Dong Dollar*, Eskimo edition, December 1961.

³³² Annie J. Randall, “A Censorship of Forgetting: Origins and Origin Myths of ‘Battle Hymn of the Republic’,” *Music, Power and Politics*, edited by Annie J. Randall, 5–24. Routledge: New York and London, 2005.

³³³ Liner notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, 3.

³³⁴ Liner Notes, *Ding Dong Dollar*, Glasgow Song Guild, Folkways Records FD 5444, 1962, LP, 7.

proliferation.”³³⁵ While it is clear that many musicians and activists were well aware of racial segregation and oppression in the United States and of the relevant musical connections, the songwriting process in England and Scotland cannot be reduced to the creation of connections to the African-American experience. Firstly, it is necessary to investigate whether the musicians and activists framed the anti-nuclear protest in comparison with oppression such as that in the United States. In the sources used for this thesis, there is little evidence to suggest such a framing.³³⁶ Secondly, did songwriters borrow tonal models from African-American music with the intension of creating a connection between the African-American and the British disarmers’ experience? No songwriter referred to such an intention in the sources. While it is likely that some songwriters did purposely use the tunes and tonal models to elicit such thoughts and emotions, it is impossible to draw any conclusions of the generality of such intentions without evidence. Eames’s suggestion holds best in the case of trad jazz bands which saw themselves as the bearers of the tradition of New Orleans marching bands.

To illustrate his thesis Eames introduces two Glaswegian anti-Polaris songs, “I Shall Not Be Moved” (tune: African-American spiritual) and “Ban Polaris, Hallelujah!” (tune: John Brown’s Body, an abolitionist song from the American Civil War era).³³⁷ Although the tunes are related to the African-American experience, there is no evidence that the songwriters would have chosen them purposely to trigger an understanding of the two conflicts as interconnected. The writers of the anti-Polaris songs sought to draw inspiration and borrow influences from multiple sources to create a unique song corpus for the Scottish folk revival, and individual tunes were usually chosen based on how they fit the intended use of the song. As for the memories and emotions triggered by these tunes, one might not have needed to travel as far as the US: many were skiffle favourites and therefore familiar for Scottish and English youth through performers such as Lonnie Donegan and maybe even their own skiffle bands.³³⁸ I would argue that the experiences of oppression that the anti-Polaris songs sought to invoke were generally those related to the narratives of Scottish history rather than to racial oppression in the US. The use of the spirituals might, for many people, establish the connection to the African-American experiences but for many others the tunes would evoke memories of for instance skiffle bands, their use in Scottish or Irish rebel songs or in folk songs in general.

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³³⁵ Eames, “The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music”.

³³⁶ For an example of such a comparison see LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, dated 15 December 1961.

³³⁷ Eames, “The Maturation of Anglo-American Protest Music.”

³³⁸ See e.g. Frith et al, *The History of Live Music in Britain*, 102.

Criticising the silence rule Peter Cadogan noted, “Song was fundamental to the American freedom riders and we need it no less.”³³⁹ Based on the narratives of nuclear disarmament protest events he was right: music played a crucial role in maintaining the morale of individual activists and groups during these events. Activists faced various challenges while protesting – pain, fatigue, boredom, fear – and musicking could alleviate them. Singing, dancing and listening to music were important as they could alter emotions, lift the mood and make protest more enjoyable.

Music also had a role in creating a sense of community and solidarity. Musicking together strengthened the bonds uniting activists and made them feel closer to one another. Singing songs, particularly anthems or theme songs, solidified activists’ identifications as movement and group members. Hearing or performing songs connected to the movement in-between protest events also helped keep the memories of protest vivid. The sense of community could be experienced through music even without others belonging to that community.

The content of the music was most effective in influencing those already participating in protest. The lyrics contained the key messages of the movement: the threats, visions for the future and steps to a better world. Singing and listening to these messages reaffirmed activists’ beliefs and strengthened their commitment to the movement. In Glasgow, music was also used as slogans targeted at the onlookers. Audiences varied and not everyone heard messages similarly. The reception by the American soldiers stationed nearby Dunoon, for example, is worth speculating as many Glaswegian songs merged anti-American lyrics with well-known American tunes.

As the singer of “Brother Won’t You Join in the Line” noted in a recording session of *Songs against the Bomb*, music had become a source of strength for the movement. While the government relied on nuclear deterrence to secure Britain’s great power status, the activists used songs to spread the message and the spirit of the movement: “They’ve got the bomb, we’ve got the records!”³⁴⁰

³³⁹ LSE: CND, CND/2008/3/1, Peter Cadogan, Memorandum – After December 9th, dated 15 December 1961.

³⁴⁰ “Brother Won’t You Join in the Line,” *Songs against the Bomb*, Topic Records 12001, 1960, LP.

CONCLUSION

*“[H]ard and soft politics, but which was the hard and which the soft I am still not sure.”*³⁴¹ As Peggy Duff’s remark suggest, cultural performance and political protest merged together in the British nuclear disarmament movement. Musicking, in particular is well-narrated and -remembered. As this study has shown, anti-nuclear songs and jazz pieces were more than entertainment – they became an integral part of the make-up of the movement. While the British nuclear disarmament movement would have existed without the music, it would not have sounded, functioned and felt the same. Furthermore, music was perceived to sustain the movement.

The cause of nuclear disarmament brought together likeminded people from worlds of activism and music, and musicking in the movement provided politically-minded musicians with subject matter and audience. Movement organisers recognised the value of including musicians in its activities which led to a development of an infrastructure of music within the movement. In particular, musicians helped in protest events and social gatherings and in mobilising resources for the organisations.

While the presence of musicians in the movement was never questioned, there was disagreement over the appropriate place, time and content of music. Organisers were particularly concerned about the image of the movement, and especially shouting in protest events was disliked. Singing was encouraged as an alternative to shouting. Sometimes organisers were also cautious about the choice of music – the genre and lyrics of the music had to fit both the occasion and the preferred movement image. To guide the selection and performance of music, organisers as well as musical communities published and taught movement music to activists. The placement of bands in protest events was also carefully planned for best possible impact.

Music motivated activists and made protesting seem more worthwhile and pleasurable. It had two main functions in protest events: it aided in maintaining morale and it strengthened the sense of community between activists. The content of the movement songs also conveyed core values and messages of the movement and helped to solidify the (self-)images of the movement and its various groups.

From the perspective of Cold War history, music in the British nuclear disarmament movement is a fascinating case. On the one hand, participation in a non-aligned movement offered opportunities to challenge and transcend Cold War dichotomies and work for peace and disarmament independent from the Soviet-led peace movement. On the other, activists and musicians connected to the Communist Party became involved in the movement early on. In fact, while the Party opposed unilateral disarmament in the beginning, musicians connected to related organisations such as the *Sing* magazine and the London

³⁴¹ Duff, *Left, Left, Left*, 210.

Youth Choir were among those pioneering the use of music in the movement. To many moving from songs about multilateral nuclear disarmament to ones calling for unilateral disarmament seemed logical. The cause was perceived to be the same: ridding the world of nuclear weapons and fallout. Several interpretations and observations can be drawn. In Cold War Britain Communist Party affiliated groups had existing musical infrastructure which was flexible enough to be mobilised for causes not directly connected to communist interests. People involved in these groups were constantly negotiating their political identities and affiliations. Individual musicians did not have to follow the Party line to be included in the groups. Communist affiliated or led groups served as gateways to political musicking, but especially since mid-1950s left-wing politics and music in Britain became more fragmented. In the turn of the decade, the nuclear disarmament movement provided a focus for political musicking, and participation in the movement influenced the subsequent political development of many musicians. In the process, content and uses of left-wing political music became more varied.

Cold War interpretations also impinged on cultures within the movement. Concerns about movement image were underpinned by societal perceptions about radicalism and the left and the branding of 'peace' as a socialist concept. Such worries were merged together with the legacy of the interwar years and the blaming of peace movements for the appeasement policy of the British government. In popular discourses nuclear disarmament activists were often perceived as irresponsible young "beatniks" which further accelerated internal debates about the movement's image. These concerns, together with tactical and strategic choices, informed the ways in which music was seen, planned, organised and performed in the movement.

Cold War was experienced differently in different parts of the movement. This is best illustrated by the anti-Polaris protests. In Scotland, Cold War became a local and everyday experience when the British government allowed the establishment of the American nuclear base nearby Dunoon. The presence of the weapons and the soldiers created conflicts in the region between those who were pleased about the new economic opportunities and those opposing the base. Some interpreted the threats of nuclear war, fallout and pollution from a nationalist perspective. This was manifest in the anti-Polaris musicking. The songs contained clear anti-American, anti-royalty and pro-Scottish messages, and the musicians' framed their cause as a part of a longer republican and nationalist tradition.

The results of this study are consistent with earlier research on the British nuclear disarmament movement. Through the lens of movement music, they tell about the complexity and variety of the movement, the conflicting interests and preferences within it. This study has shown that individual activists and groups used music to negotiate disagreements and express dissent in the movement. Moreover, the thesis has exemplified how closely interconnected the cultural and the political were in the

movement. Activists and musicians recognised this, and they used music to express, perform and reaffirm their political identities.

This study has shown that music had meanings beyond art and entertainment and deserves more than brief allusions in histories about the British nuclear disarmament movement. Music and musicking came to play crucial roles in the sustaining the movement: they motivated activists, provided tools for nonviolent protest and disagreement and connected the movement to different cultural and political scenes. The British nuclear disarmament movement in 1958–1963 was able to successfully capitalise on trends in popular and political music, and this opened up opportunities to inspire large sections of, particularly, the British youth. Studying the complex roles of music in the British nuclear disarmament movement has, therefore, drawn a picture of a heterogeneous movement with porous borders and changing populations. What remained important, however, were the vital glues of all social movements: relationships, a sense of solidarity with others involved and a feeling of being part of something bigger and meaningful – all of which could be forged and maintained through music.

The roles music had in the British nuclear disarmament movement were similar to those researchers have identified in other movements. Musicking was perceived particularly important for maintaining morale and for creating a sense of community, but also more institutional roles – for example in recruitment and fundraising – were identified. Interestingly music as a message to outsiders, movement music as protest songs, was rarely mentioned among core roles. Far more attention was given to the movement supporting and sustaining functions. Since much of the research on music in social movements has focused on narratives of protest, less focus has been given to the ways in which movement organisers work to gain the most from musicking. This study has contributed to knowledge about these processes. Having music on, for example, the Aldermaston marches or the anti-Polaris demonstrations was not coincidental or (only) spontaneous. Organisers spent time planning where the best places and times for music were and attempted to guide the musicking and the broader soundscape with instructions and education. Musicians also took the conditions of the events into account in their songwriting and performances. The case of the British nuclear disarmament movement shows that the forms musicking in social movements takes is a result of planning, improvisation and spontaneous actions. The opportunities and options available are shaped by the political and cultural context which define, for instance, the music available for mobilisation and the political and social circumstances influencing perceptions on music and activism in general and political musicking in particular.

This thesis has demonstrated that music can be a useful prism for studying complex political phenomena such as social movements. It guides attention for example to relationships between individuals and groups and to the ways in which these relationships are maintained. Music is always connected to various trends and organisations, and it is experienced and understood on multiple levels

ranging from the deeply personal to the widely shared interpretations and narratives in a given community. Therefore, music triggers such connections and understandings, bringing in values, practices and debates associated with them. Since music can influence identification processes, it is a particularly useful tool for researching group dynamics, movements and ideologies. Studying music can also help us understand how emotional processes work in different historical contexts. As illustrated by the cases of the British nuclear disarmament movement, music can be used to express and alter emotions arising in response to politics and social developments. Fear of nuclear fallout is a good example, born in reaction to media and movement narratives about the threat, mobilised into action by the movement and transformed into anger and hope for a better future through rituals of protest, including musicking.

From the perspective of peace and conflict research, this thesis has provided an example of how local actors interpreted a global conflict, the Cold War, and responded to it using the cultural and social resources available for them. It has also demonstrated how the Cold War influenced not only the choice of topic but also the political opportunities and internal dynamics of the movement. Cold War dichotomies reflected on perceived divisions within the movement and narrowed down options available to the more cautious activists. This, in turn deepened existing conflicts over, for example, choice of tactics. Conflicts over musicking were rarer but occurred. On the other hand, music also sheds light on the ways conflict divisions can be transcended. The ambiguity of the influence of communism on movement musicians is a case to the point.

The role of music in conflicts during protest events is interesting. This study has shown that in the British nuclear disarmament movement music could be used to avoid conflict by guiding attention away. Music and noise could also be forms of nonviolent conflict behaviour. Activists and their opponents used sound to express differing opinions and to drown out each other's voices. The soundscape of protest and conflict in general undoubtedly warrants further studies.

This study has opened up questions for further research. Firstly, the music in the British nuclear disarmament movement could be understood better with a greater number of oral history sources and other personal accounts of protest. Localised histories from West Scotland and elsewhere would be particularly welcome since currently research remains largely London-centric. Moreover, comparative and longitudinal approaches would be useful as they would increase our understanding of the effect of context. Secondly, the British nuclear disarmament movement had contemporaries in Europe and elsewhere, providing a great amount of data for international comparisons. In Britain, there were also other social movements during and immediately preceding and following the nuclear disarmament movement. Contrasting music in different thematic movements would make for interesting studies, especially since there were considerable overlaps in their populations. This would uncover for instance whether the nuclear disarmament movement was unique in the ways its organisers worried about its

image or whether the experience was shared more widely in Cold War Britain. There is also much research to be done on the formation, performance and negotiation of political identifications in Cold War Britain.

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8 – Minutes, correspondence and circulars

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- 5 – Publicity
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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

Albert Beale became a peace activist as a student in Brighton in the late 1960s. By this time, the CND was in decline. Beale was involved in a local pacifist group in Brighton and participated for example in anti-militarist street theatre and in campaigns against NATO. Later, he has been, for instance, the editor of the pacifist paper *Peace News*. At the time of the interview, Beale worked at the War Resisters International. His pacifism was also counter-cultural, and Beale considered music to have had considerable influence on his politics.

Marion Blythmann was active in the anti-Polaris movement in Glasgow from the early 1960s onwards. She participated in the protest events and was also the other member of the Glasgow Song Guild, publishing *Ding Dong Dollar* songsheets. Her late husband, Morris Blythmann was among the core members of both the anti-Polaris music and the Scottish folk revival communities. Blythmann recalled that they became active largely over anger about the arrival of the Polaris missiles and the American nuclear submarine base nearby a small Scottish community. Morris Blythmann, according to her, was not an enthusiastic CND supporter.

Bill Hetherington's first contact with peace movements was in 1956 when he joined a march against British involvement in Suez. By late 1950s he had also come aware of the beginnings of the Direct Action Committee and the CND. On Hiroshima Day of 1961 Hetherington came across a Youth CND vigil in Birmingham town centre. He became involved in the West Midlands CND and in the Committee of 100. Hetherington participated for instance in one of the 9 December 1961 demonstrations. Committee of 100 led Hetherington to broader pacifist politics and the Peace Pledge Union. At the time of the interview Hetherington was working at the Peace Pledge Union.

Andrew Papworth was active in the nuclear disarmament movement in Hampstead, London, when he was a comprehensive school student in the early 1960s. Papworth participated in a part of the 1960 Aldermaston and sought a permission from the headmaster of his school to found a CND group in the school. The permission was not granted so he asked Canon Collins and Bertrand Russell to write to the headmaster. Papworth devoted a lot of energy to CND in those days. The spectre of conflict and the state of world politics frightened him, so becoming active in the CND seemed the right thing to do.

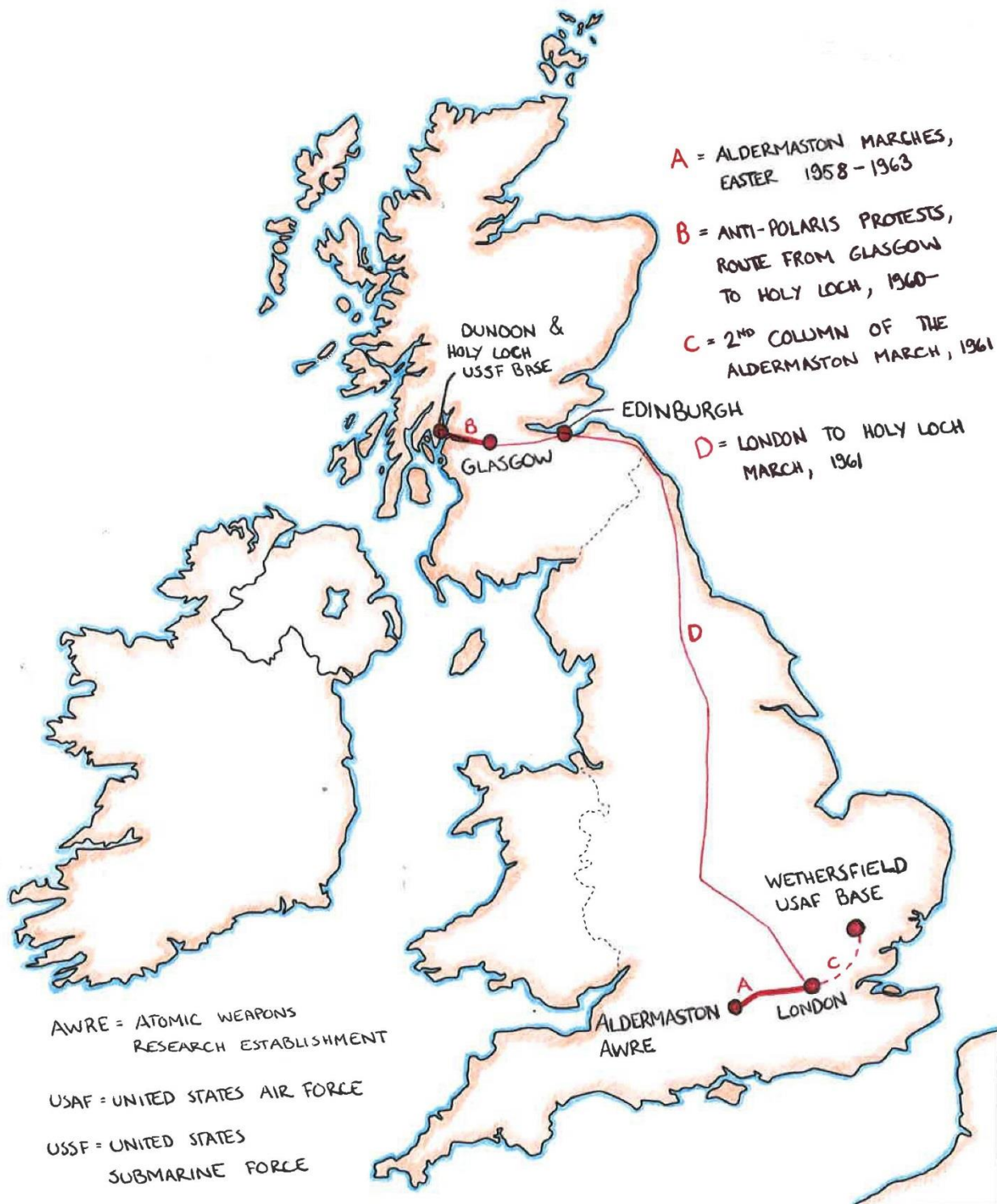
John Powles works as the curator of the Political Song Collection at Glasgow University. Since late 1960s he has also been involved in the folk scene first in England and currently in Scotland.

Jimmy Ross was involved in anti-Polaris activism in Glasgow and has been singing folk music since the mid-sixties. Among other things, he has been the president of Glasgow University folksong club and a cofounder of the Tradition Folk Club in Glasgow in 1970.

Susan Ross was active in the anti-Polaris movement in the 1960s, and she became involved through Morris and Marion Blythmann. Ross participated for example in selling the *Ding Dong Dollar* songbooks. She was a cofounder the Tradition Folk Club in Glasgow in 1970.

Leon Rosselson began writing songs in 1958–1959, and he was on the Aldermaston march of 1958. He was also involved with the London Youth Choir and went to three of the World Youth Festivals with the group. Rosselson recalled his participation in the movement as a natural thing since he had been involved with politics and music for most of his life. CND was the big movement of the time, and Rosselson felt it was a “revival of political action” in a time of political stagnation. Rosselson had a skiffle group, and he found it interesting that the folk revival was a part of the CND movement. Rosselson has continued to write political music throughout his career.

APPENDIX II: ALDERMASTON AND ANTI-POLARIS MARCHES, 1958–1963



Sources: Duff, *Left, Left, Left*; LSE: CND, CND/2008/2/1, Map showing route of Polaris march, undated; Marion Blythmann, John Powles, Jimmy Ross and Susan Ross, interview by author, 19 February 2015.